

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama  
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HSM 411 Dokumen-Dokumen dalam Sejarah Malaysia

Masa: [3 jam]

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KERTAS PEPERIKSAAN INI MENGANDUNGI ENAM [6] SOALAN DALAM LIMA  
PULUH SEMBILAN [59] MUKA SURAT

Jawab TIGA [3] soalan.

Semua soalan membawa nilai markah yang sama.

Anda hendaklah membuat rujukan kepada dokumen-dokumen dan bacaan-bacaan yang berkenaan yang telah digunakan dalam kursus ini.

1. DOKUMEN A

- (a) Berdasarkan dokumen "Penghulu Commission, Perak", bincangkan perubahan kedudukan dan peranan penghulu dalam sistem pentadbiran tempatan di Negeri-Negeri Melayu pada 1890-an.
- (b) Apakah hujahan-hujahan yang dibentangkan oleh Gabenor Weld untuk menyokong pandangannya bahawa British haruslah mengekalkan sistem pemerintahan yang sedia wujud di Negeri-Negeri Melayu.

2. DOKUMEN B

- (a) Berdasarkan bukti-bukti yang didapati daripada dokumen B, sejauhmanakah Pemberontakan Tok Janggut pada tahun 1915 boleh dianggap sebagai pergerakan gulungan pemerintah Pasir Puteh untuk menegakkan semula regim lama dan menghalau semua orang asing dari Negeri Kelantan?
- (b) Mengapa George Maxwell dalam laporannya memberatkan isu "kedudukan kewangan" Negeri Kelantan pada tahun 1915?

.../2

3. DOKUMEN C

- (a) "Sesuatukajian phenomenon pelacuran dalam sejarah haruslah berdasarkan metodologi dan sumber-sumber sejarah baru". Bincangkan.
- (b) Didasarkan dokumen C, bincangkan mengapa pihak berkuasa tidak memperdulikan hal pelacuran berlesen tetapi amat berasa bimbang terhadap pelacuran tesembunyi.

4. DOKUMEN D

- (a) Bagaimanakah wakil-wakil Persatuan Melayu pada Persidangan 1940 bercadang meningkatkan kedudukan sosio-ekonomi kaum Melayu di Tanah Melayu.
- (b) "Adalah nyata bahawa corak kepimpinan dan ciri-ciri perkembangan politik Melayu dapat dibayangkan dalam usul-usul yang dibentangkan semasa Persidangan Tanah Melayu itu". Bincangkan.

5. DOKUMEN E

- (a) Didasarkan dokumen E sahaja, sejauhmanakah dasar dan amalan pemerintahan Jepun (1942 - 1945) telah menjadikan faktor utama yang mencetuskan perasaan perkauman dikalangan komponen-komponen ethnik selepas Perang Dunia Kedua?
- (b) Apakah dasar Jepun di Tanah Melayu terhadap kaum Melayu yang terbayang dalam propaganda-propaganda Jepun?

6. DOKUMEN F

- (a) Perihal keadaan perburuhan yang wujud di Tanah Melayu pada tahun 1947 wakil-wakil United Planting Association of Malaya menyatakan bahawa "We have expressly refrained from open discussion and from communication to the Press because we considered such a course to be inadvisable". Dari segi tujuan wakil-wakil yang menyerahkan surat memorandum kepada Sir Edward Gent, mengapa mereka mengambil keputusan ini.
- (b) Berdasarkan fakta-fakta yang didapati dalam dokumen ini, bagaimana anda akan menjelaskan berlakunya mogok-mogok militan pada awal tahun 1947?

.../3

.../DOKUMEN A

DOKUMEN A

Khoo Kay Kim, (ed) History of Southeast, South and East Asia: Essays and Documents.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MALAY STATES

WELD TO KIMBERLEY, 21 OCTOBER 1880

1. Again a very great and increasing Chinese population containing a large proportion of the lowest class is an element which requires careful but firm handling. Looking most hopefully as I do on the excellent work we are doing on the Peninsula, and never doubting its success, it is still impossible to shut my eyes to the fact that we are and have been relying on something more than simple advice, and must continue however unostentatiously to do so, unless we are preparing to retire from the country.
2. There are three course open:
  - 1st. To prepare gradually for retiring from the Native states
  - 2nd. To annex them
  - 3rd. To gradually and gently increase our influence as occasion offers over the Peninsula south of Siam, not necessarily with any view of an immediate extension of the Residential system: and in respect to the protected states to determine never to relax our hold, but not to annex whilst it is possible to go on under the present system. In the meantime to work by and through the native governments by advice discreetly but firmly administered.
3. In regard to the first course, the question at once presents itself: Have we been preparing the protected states for self-Government of such a nature as to enable us, if so minded, to abandon them to their own guidance? I concur with Sir William Robinson in thinking did we abandon them, their state would probably be worse than it was when we first intervened. I do not think that anything could justify us in leaving them to anarchy, and our own interests as well as theirs forbid it. Nothing that we have done has taught them to govern themselves; we are merely teaching them to cooperate with us in governing under our guidance. I have always held the theory that to teach men to govern themselves you must throw them a good deal on their own resources: we are doing, necessarily doing, the very reverse. Moreover, I doubt if Asiatics will ever learn to govern themselves, it is contrary to the genius of their race, of their history, of

their religious systems, that they should. Their desire is a mild, just and firm despotism, that we can give them but under the circumstances of the states on the Malay peninsula they are not likely to be able to give it to themselves. Johore may be quoted against my view but the case of this state is itself exceptional and unlike that of any of the other states. When the late Temenggong Ibrahim, the Maharajah's Father, began to turn his attention to Johore, the native population was extremely small; there was little cultivation and the whole revenue even so late as 1852 was \$7200 or about 1800. Now nine-tenths of the population of Johore are Chinese, European, Singapore and Chinese capital is invested in the state, the more readily on account of its close proximity to Singapore, and also because the Maharajah is always advised, not only by Governors, but also by his own European agents, merchants and lawyers. The Maharajah himself is an exceptional Malay ruler; he has lived all his life among Europeans; he is intimately bound up with our own government and has been the personal friend of successive Governors; and after all he has not much for Johore yet, and we do not know what will come after him. Good rulers do doubtless arise in all countries, but judging from the past, native good government hardly seems a plant congenial to the soil, and the increased large Chinese population would present much greater difficulties now to native rulers than it did some years ago.

4. Further it must be borne in mind, that not only has European and Chinese capital been encouraged to flow into the Native States by the order we have established in them, but a large field has been opened to European and Chinese settlement for agricultural 'planting' purposes. This capital is being invested in the confidence that we shall not retire from the protected states or be entirely indifferent to the interests of our countrymen even in native ones where we possess influence. Both Malays and Chinese accept our role in the protected states as a fact, and the large majority, I doubt not, most gratefully accept it, and further the British Government is by both chiefs and people looked upon as the arbiter between the purely native states, and as the guardians of the people of the Peninsula and it really is so.

5. If this be conceded, the next point to be considered is the advisability of annexation, not of course sudden or immediate, but proximate annexation as circumstances may dictate; and a framing of our policy to accelerate that end. Setting aside any possible unforeseen and exceptional case, I am nor prepared to advocate that policy. I think we can more safely, and on the whole more advantageously to ourselves and to the people, go on as we are doing. Complications may no doubt arise but I fail to see any reason why they may not be as readily averted, or as effectually dealt with, under the present system as under any other whilst the development of the resources of the States and their partial colonization (if I may use the term) by European capitalists can now, I

think, he promoted as rapidly as is desirable, so long as the present impression is fostered that we shall not recede from our present position. Countries in the position of the Malay States want a somewhat elastic form of government: justice and firmness tempered by great discretion and tact, great care in the selection of Governors, of Residents, and even of subordinate agents, and under the direction of the Secretary of State a latitude allowed them, which the more rigid and complicated and expensive system of a political and legal organisation, suited for a British colony does not admit of. The Native States are not. I think, ready for the more perfect or purely British system and most likely to go on well under Residential advice, the influence of which more indirectly, and as it were reflectedly, will gradually permeate the more purely Native States, affording them the opportunities, should wise rulers arise, of imitating the example of our Residents and working out their own good. It is much more likely, however, that the contrast between their own rulers' conduct and that of our Residents, will lead to the speed of a desire which is already felt amongst the people, in Sri Menanti for instance, to throw themselves on our protection.

6. Such are briefly my views up on the first two propositions. I see no valid reason against adhering to the third course which may be said to be nearly that now pursued, at least it is the view by which I, unless otherwise instructed, should be guided so far as circumstances may permit, and I take it to be in accordance with the existing instructions and despatches of the Secretary of State as I understand them.

7. It will not be irrelevant to add that the Bendahara of Pahang, which is situated on the East coast and marches with Selangor and Perak, has just written to me to say that it is his desire to visit me in Singapore, if it be my pleasure to receive him. I had some little time ago expressed to envoys sent to me by him my desire to maintain most friendly relations with him, and I look upon his intended visit with much satisfaction. Though several times invited by my predecessors, the Bendahara has never been to Singapore since he obtained the supreme power in Pahang. While on my recent tour in the Native States, I heard confidentially from native sources that it was the Bendahara's wish to come to Singapore to seek my chose friendship and advice; and looking to the position of Pahang with regard to the Western States under our protection, I am of opinion that should the Bendahara seek it, our relations with him may with great advantage to him and to his people and also to the Colony and Protected States, be drawn as close as possible, but advances should come from him, for I hear that offers of advice made to him by Sir Harry Ord, Sir A. Clarke and Sir W. Jervois, though received with great politeness, had apparently but slight effect upon him. I am inclined to think that he has been led to his present step by seeing the increased prosperity of his

western neighbours, and the stagnation of his own country, which possesses such magnificent resources. Standing alone as he does, he is likely to seek a close alliance with the British Government which he, in common, I am told, with all other natives in these seas, looks up to as the most powerful and most just of European powers. It is unnecessary for me to say how much alliance with a state so important by its resources and still more so by its geographical position, would tend to consolidate our position and influence in the Malay Peninsula, and I think that it will be probably wise for me on the arrival of the new steamer, which I have already asked for, to return the visit of the Bendahara and personally to see his country and possibly cross it to Perak on my return thence.

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Emily Sadka, The Protected Malay States 1874 - 1895,  
University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, m.s. 406 - 407.

# PENGHULU COMMISSION, PERAK

## *Kaulul--Haq*

Bahawa maka ada-lah kita Sultan Idris Murshidil-a'adzam Shah KCMG Ibnu Al-Marhom Iskandar Shah Yang Di-Pertuan Negeri Perak Daru-r-ridzuan serta Tuan2 Ahli Meshuarat Council Kerajaan Perak maka kita telah menaruh harap dan perchaya di-dalam mengerjakan dan menjalankan atoran yang telah kita izinkan maka ada-lah kita menjadi-kan To'Muda Ab. Rahman bin Raja Setia Penghulu daerah Batang Padang serta kita kurniai gaji kepada-nya \$25.00 sa-bulan dengan tiada mendapat chabut.

*Yang pertama:* Shahadan maka ada-lah kita menjadikan To'Muda Ab. Rahman Penghulu daerah Batang Padang maka kita telah memberi kapada-nya dengan sa-chukup kuasa supaya boleh ia menyelesaikan perkara aduan yang kechil2 di-dalam daerah-nyaserta kita benarkan boleh ia mendenda di-atas perkara itu tiada lebeh daripada lima rial, maka rial denda yang tersebut hendak-lah di-hantar serahkan kadalam perbendaharaan tempat perhimponan rial di-dalam daerah mukim-nya ia-itu di-Tapah.

*Yang kedua:* Kalakian maka ini-lah kita memberi kapada Penghulu To' Muda Ab. Rahman dengan sachukup kuasa boleh ia mengutipkan segala hasil2 yang telah kita benarkan, maka rial yang tersebut mahu-lah di-masokkan ka-dalam perbendaharaan tempat perhimponan rial di-dalam daerah.

*Yang ketiga:* Maka jika sakira-nya ada perkara yang besar2 di-dalam daerah-nya ia-itu saperti penyamun dan berbunoh2an atau mati terkejut saketika itu maka yang demikian itu hendak-lah ia tangkapkan yang membuat-nya dan dengan segera-nya-lah ia mahu mendapatkan serta di-beri tahu darihal perkara itu kapada kepala yang memerentahkan daerah-nya dan jika ada orang yang di-kenai penyakit yang berjangkit2 ia-itu saperti ketumbohan atau lain2-nya maka hendak-lah penghulu asingkan dengan berjauhan tempat-nya tiada boleh bersama2 denganorang yang lain.

*Yang keempat:* Demikian lagi pekerjaan penghulu itu hendak-lah menyimpan satu buku register nama-nya ia-itu-lah buku di-tulis nama2 orang yang di-dalam ta'alok daerah-nya baik daripada tanah atau galian dan yang punya danlain perkara bagi yang tersebut di-dalam list yang telah di-beri kapada-nya serta hendak-lah penghulu memberi nasehat segala orang2 di-dalam mukim-nya menyurohkan berbuat bendang supaya meninggalkan perkerjaan ladang kerana ada-lah pekerjaan berladang itu tiada-lah kekal kepenyudahan-nya dan lagi menjadi kebinasaan jua kapada negeri demikian jua mana2 orang

yang belum kena penyakit ketumbohan itu hendak-lah penghulu ikhtiar serahkan ia kepada Tuan Doctor bertanam benih ketumbohan kerana beberapa banyak yang kita ketahui mana2 yang sudah di-tanam benih itu tiada lagi di-kenai oleh penyakit itu.

**Yang kelima:** Maka ada-lah saperti segala orang2 di-dalam mukim-nya mahu-lah mengikut dan menurut bagi penghulu yang tersebut ini di-atas surohan-nya yang patut hendak-lah segala orang tulong kerjakan atas yang berpatutan dengan segera-nya.

**Yang keenam:** Jika siapa2 orang yang engkar daripada surohannya nyata-lah orang itu mendapat kesalahan yang besar tertentu-lah kita jatohkan denda atas bagi yang demikian tiada lebeh daripada lima ratus rial atau ikut sabagaimana keputusan hakim mempenjarakan akan bekerja berat yang tiada lebeh daripada dua tahun.

**Yang ketujuh:** Jika ada mereka2 di-dalam daerah-nya itu menaruh kuasa daripada segala raja2 yang dahulu menjadikan ia penghulu di-dalam daerah itu maka sekarang telah kita batalkan tiada boleh di-pakai dan tiada berguna dan mahu-lah di-serahkan surat kenyataan itu kepada penghulu.

**Yang kelapan:** Demikian lagi jika ada siapa2 mengaku diri-nya jadi penghulu di-dalam mana2 mukim dengan tiada ketetapan daripada kita atau tiada dengan kebenaran daripada British Resident nyata-lah di-kenakan satu denda bagi yang demikian tiada lebeh daripada lima ratus rial atau di-masokkan ka-dalam penjara tiada lebeh daripada dua tahun.

**Yang kesembilan:** Jika penghulu membuat perkara yang tiada kebenaran daripada kita atau mengutip chukai atau menyuroh orang tiada dengan sapatut-nya atau anyaya pada ra'ayat kita penghulu itu nyata-lah kita murkai dan kita jatohkan hukum yang berat diatas-nya demikian-lah kita beri ketahui supaya jangan-lah di-perbuat saperti yang tersebut di-atas ini hubaya2 jangan di-lalui ada-nya.

Termaktub di-dalam Office Secretary Government kepada Shb. December 1894.



DOKUMEN B

File No.: 28821 (C.O. 273.426)

Confidential

High Commissioner's Office.

Singapore, 1st June, 1915.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit a confidential report upon the recent outbreak in Kelantan. The history of the outbreak has been given concisely in the annexed narrative which was written with a view, subject to Your Excellency's approval, to publication in the local newspapers, especially the Malay papers. In the present confidential report, I endeavour to explain the nature of causes of the outbreak, and submit recommendations for improving the present state of affairs in Kelantan. For the purposes of this report I visited Kelantan from the 17th to the 25th May: at Kota Bahru, the capital, I had two interviews with His Highness the Sultan, and was the guest of the British Adviser; I travelled by train as far as rail-head at Tanah Merah, and thence by launch to Kuala Krai and Kuala Lebir, in the Ulu Kelantan district.

I also went, partly by road and partly across country, from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh, the scene of the main outbreak, and happened to be present at the fighting on the 24th May. A map of Kelantan is annexed to this report.

2. Pasir Puteh is one of the two out-districts of Kelantan (Ulu Kelantan being the other, and lies in the south-eastern part of the state, along the coast-line, extending as far as the Trengganu frontier. It takes its name from a small town a few miles up the Semerak River, the only stream of any size in the district. The population recorded in the Census of 1911 was 25,525 out of a total of 286,751 for the whole state. Its revenue for 1914 was only about \$24,000, out of a total State revenue of \$762,772. With the exception of a few struggling European-owned coconut estates, there is no British or foreign enterprise in the district. The local Malays are extremely ignorant and stupid. As is usual in a border district, many of them are cattle-thieves. Their industries are paddy-planting, coconut cultivation and cattle raising. The number of registered fire-arms in the district is 281. There are three Police Stations: Pasir Puteh (16 men) Kuala Semerak (8 men), and Bachok (8 men). The District Officer, Che Abdul Latif, is a Singapore Malay; and all the clerks, police and other government officials are Malays.

3. Pasir Puteh is about 30 miles from Kota Bahru, the capital. An earth road has been made from Kota Bahru as far as Gunong, about half the distance, and is fit for light motor traffic in dry weather. The remainder of the journey has to be made across the padi-fields, which are a sheet of water in the wet season. The only other communication between Kota Bahru and Pasir Puteh is by sea. There are no telegraphs or telephones in the district. The deplorable lack of communication is the subject of a later part of this report.

4. The Pasir Puteh district was in former days governed by a Chief (Tunku) who owed allegiance to the Raja of Kelantan, but whose rulership was practically uncontrolled. The last Chief who had such power was Tunku Sri Mah. In the recent outbreak, the two leaders were Ungku Besar, his grandson, and Haji Mat Hassan (better known as To' Janggut), his right-hand man; and their declared intention was to drive out of all Europeans and all foreigners of every nationality, to establish the old regime and (ridiculous as it may appear) to have taxes only once in every three years.

Opposition to the land-tax was the principal cause of the outbreak, and it is necessary therefore to explain briefly the nature of the change in the system of taxation.

The new "land Rules" came into force in the 1st January 1915, and substituted a "land-tax" (mis-named "land-rent" in the official translation) for the "produce-taxes". The rates at which the produce taxes were paid under the old system were as follows:

Padi-tax (A) Upon padi-fields planted from nurseries: calculated upon native measurements, and corresponding to a rate of 93 3/4 cents per cultivated acre;

Padi-tax (B) Upon padi-fields sown with seed: calculated upon native measurements, and corresponding to a corresponding 46 3/4 cents per cultivated acre;

There was no tax upon land which had not been cultivated; upon land on which the crop had failed; or upon land used for nurseries.

Coconut-tax 3 cents per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Durian tree & tree-tax 12 1/2 cents per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Betel-vine-tax 1 cent per annum upon every tree in bearing.

Particular attention is invited to the words underlined.

The new land-tax is collected at the following rates.

\$1 to \$1.20 per acre per annum for 1st class land  
80 cents per acre per annum for 2nd class land  
60 cents per acre per annum for 3rd class land  
40 cents per acre per annum for 4th class land

A rule provides that when new land is taken up, remission "of rent" (i.e. land-tax) may be granted for a period not exceeding five "years".

7. Padi-fields, which under the old taxation would come under class "A", would be 1st class or 2nd class land under the new system, and class "B" padi-fields would be either 3rd or 4th class land. It will be seen therefore that the tax per acre upon 2nd and 4th class padi-land is less under the new system than it was under the old system, whilst the tax upon 1st class and 3rd class land is higher. The crux, however is that under the new system, the land proprietor has to pay in respect of his padi land whether he cultivates it or not, whereas under the old system this was not so.

He has also to pay upon the land used for nurseries, and to pay whether his crop has been a failure or not. Similarly, in respect of the land covered by his coconut, durian and betel-leaf trees, he has to pay whether the trees are in bearing or not. Again under the old system, land given up to the cultivation of any trees, other than those specified above, was exempt from taxation. This is not so now.

8. It will seen therefore that the new land-tax (which practically corresponds to the "land-rent" of the Colony and the Federated Malay States) is decidedly heavier than the old produce-tax. The produce-tax too was collected in a haphazard manner by the village headman, who found it easy not to include his friends amongst the people on his list, and politically expedient to omit all persons of standing at court. Under the new system, the maps will prevent any evasion. Another point which is objected to in the system is that many chiefs, who enjoyed a partial exemption under the old law, are by the new rules compelled to pay.

9. In addition to the land-tax, there is a scale of fees for the preparation of land-titles, (which are at present practically non-existent) and another scale for survey-fees. For the preparation of a "permit" (which is the first preliminary title, and is issued upon a mere measurement of boundary lines, without observation of angles) a fee of \$2 is charged. This is heavy; and when a man owns several small blocks of poor land, becomes oppressive. I am informed by the District Officer, Pasir Putih, that in his district, where the land is poor on the whole, a man generally owns four or five blocks of land, each of which is of an average area of an acre, and an average value of \$40.

10. From the Government point of view, the land-tax is undoubtedly preferable to the produce-tax and there is no intention of abandoning it. I have however, represented to the British Adviser, for the consideration of the State Council, that the fee of \$2 for registration of a permit might well be done away with: more especially as the permit has later to be surrendered in exchange for a permanent title, when a fresh registration fee and a survey fee (including a charge for the cost of boundary marks) become payable.

11. The land-tax is only being collected upon holdings, in respect of which permits have been prepared, after measurement of the area, only some thirty permits were ready for issue in Pasir Puteh district in April; and only one was taken out. In respect of all the holdings in the district (some tens of thousands, of lots perhaps) the old "produce-tax" is still being collected. The peasants had not therefore felt the new tax. They only knew that it was coming.

12. It is worthy of note that no opposition to the new tax has been shown in the Ulu Kelantan district, where some sixty permits have been taken out, or in the Kota Bahru district, where more than a hundred permits have been issued.

13. A great mistake was made by the Kelantan Government in not taking more care to explain to the peasantry the nature of the alteration in the taxation. This omission will have to be remedied, for when a tax affects the peasant's most valuable property, and is, in the majority of cases, the only direct tax that he pays, it is essential that he should understand it. It is important too that he should realize the benefit of having a title for his land.

14. In addition to the feeling against the land-tax, there are other causes for the outbreak. In the first place, though there is nothing to show that any German, Turkish or Indian seditionist influence has been at work in Kelantan, nevertheless the Kelantan people have for some months past undoubtedly believed the Great Britain was being defeated in the European war. When the Singapore mutiny took place in February, wild stories spread through the state of the massacres of Europeans and the successes of the mutineers. It was commonly believed that all the European troops and all the British Battleships had left the East for Europe. So firmly did the Kelantan Malays believe in British impotence in the Straits Settlements that, when the British Adviser made it known that British troops and a British Man-of-war were on their way to Kelantan, the news was received with incredulity even in the highest circles; and the arrival of Colonial Brownlow's force and of H.M.S. "Cadmus" created a feeling almost approaching bewilderment.

15. In the opinion of the British Adviser, His Highness the Sultan has, ever since the Singapore mutiny, believed that the down - fall of the British Empire was at hand. A marked change has been noted in His Highness's attitude, and unwanted opposition and difficulties have been experienced by the British Adviser within the last two months both in the State Council and in routine work. It is not that His Highness has anything to do with the outbreak. All that is meant is that his behaviour reflected the opinion which he shared with other people in the country. It is beyond doubt too that since the Singapore mutiny, the Kelantan Malays, as a whole, have been far less respectful to Europeans, and have in many cases tended to adopt an insolent and truculent attitude.

16. Amongst the more ignorant classes, and in the more backward districts, the feeling naturally arose that an opportunity had occurred for expelling the British Officials. To the ignorant Malays of Pasir Puteh, there was nothing ridiculous in Ungku Besar's hope of seizing Pasir Puteh, and ruling it himself. It must be remembered that, only a few years ago, such a thing would have been possible.

17. There is yet another factor in the case. The movement against the land-tax in Pasir Puteh, and Ungku Besar's aspirations had the support of certain "ungkus" of high rank in Kota Bahru. His Highness the Sultan told me that he was certain of this. He would not give me any names, as he was still making enquiries. I may however say the persons suspected by the British Adviser are the Tunku Besar, the Tunku Bendahara, the Ungku Chik Penambang. All three are members of the State Council and the first two are uncles of the Sultan. It is believed -- but it is really only a matter for suspicion -- that their object was not only to rouse the whole of Kelantan against the foreigners, as soon as the Pasir Puteh outbreak had proved successful, but to depose the Sultan in favour of one of themselves.

18. It will be seen in the narrative that the outbreak with the exception of two minor affairs, was confined to the Pasir Puteh district. The Malays of the other districts however were only waiting to see the result of the movement in Pasir Puteh. When Colonel Brownlow's force and H.M.S. "Cadmus" arrived, the Malays of Kota Bahru district threw in their lot with them and with the Government. If that military and naval force had not been sent from Singapore, the Sultan would have got no response to his forced levy.

19. It was a more coincidence that His Highness the Sultan of Trengganu was in Kelantan from the 3rd to the 5th May. His Highness was making a formal return of a call paid by the Sultan of Kelantan last year. The date had been fixed for some time, and the Sultan of Trengganu, when he heard of the trouble in Pasir Puteh, did not consider it of sufficient importance to justify a postponement of his visit. There has

been no trouble in Trengganu, where His Highness has issued a Proclamation forbidding his people to harbour any of the Pasir Puteh rioters.

20. I now come to the consideration of the steps to be taken to punish the offenders, to restore public confidence, and security, to improve the administration, and to prevent a similar outbreak in the future.

21. It is beyond all doubt that the people of Pasir Puteh district, as a whole, were practically united in their sympathy with the rioters, though, so far as can be judged, not more than two or three hundred men actually took up arms. His Highness the Sultan, in conversation with me, strongly expressed the opinion that the whole district should be punished, and I suggested a fine upon every house in the district, unless the owner was either known to be loyal or could prove his loyalty. His Highness highly approved of the suggestion, and the matter will be considered in State Council. Another suggestion that I made was that all the fire-arms in the district should be called in, and that they should only be re-issued in cases where loyalty is known or can be proved.

22. Of the five ring-leaders in the outbreak, two are shewn by the Narrative to have been accounted for. So long as the other three are at large, there is the danger of another outbreak. It is necessary therefore to relax no effort to secure them, and the permission of the Trengganu Government to enter its territory, if necessary, must be obtained. The British Adviser Kelantan has addressed the British Agent, Trengganu upon the subject. In addition to these three men, some sixty persons have been mentioned by name in the various police investigations as having taken part in rioting or looting, and these people must be brought to trial. Until the principal offenders have been caught, and the various police cases connected with the outbreak have been disposed of, it will not be safe to reduce the detachment of Malay States Guides in Kelantan below its present number of 240 men.

The Malay States Guides are now distributed as follows:

A Pasir Puteh, 100 men (infantry) under Major Berton and two native officers, with Dr. Wood in medical charge;

At Kota Bahru 50 men (infantry) and 40 gunners of the mule battery (without the mules) under Captain Blandford and a Native Officer;

At Tanah Merah (on the railway) 42 men under a Native Officer;

At Pasir Mas (also on the railway) 8 men and a Non-Commissioned Officer.

23. The police force of the State consists of two Europeans, 221 Malays and 63 Sikhs, of whom the 2 Europeans, 127 Malays and 48 Sikhs are concentrated in Kota Bahru. The remaining 94 Malays and 15 Sikhs are distributed throughout the State in 14 police stations. Colonel Brownlow R.A., in a telegram from Kelantan to His Excellency the General Officer Commanding on the 11th May, expressed the opinion that a permanent garrison or "a large increase of police force is essential". I venture to qualify this statement by the addition of the words "until there are better road communications" - I consider that as soon as the present excitement has subsided the present force of 280 Malay States Guides could be reduced to 100 Sikhs (50 at Pasir Puteh, 25 at Kota Bahru, and 25 at Kuala Krai) and that when roads from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh and Kuala Krai are open to fast light motor traffic this number might safely be reduced to 50 Sikhs, who might then be stationed at Kota Bahru.

24. Pasir Puteh's position near the Kelantan-Trengganu frontier makes it, as has been stated above, a resort of the bad characters of both States. Owing to the inefficiency of the police in both States, cattle-thefts are almost unchecked. A police station at Bukit Petir, on the frontier, would if properly supervised and connected with Pasir Puteh by telephone, do much to ameliorate the present disgraceful state of affairs.

25. It is essential that an European should be stationed at Pasir Puteh as District Officer. His presence will improve the morale and conduct of the police, and will inspire confidence amongst the Malay peasants, Chinese traders and European planters alike. The late Mr. Mason, when British Adviser, is said to have promised the European planters of the district that an European District Officer would be stationed in Pasir Puteh as soon as the revenue of the district reached \$24,000 per annum. This figure was attained last year, and the British Adviser proposes to ask the State Council to station Mr. Pepys at Pasir Puteh. The present District Officer, Che Abdul Latif, is unpopular in Pasir Puteh. It is complained that he is overbearing and brutal to the peasants. From what I saw, I doubt the truth of this. My opinion is that he is unpopular, firstly because he is regarded as a tax-collector, and secondly because he is a foreign Malay. He is capable officer, and should, I think, remain with Mr. Pepys for a month or two in Pasir Puteh to assist him in putting the office in order and should then be transferred to Kota Bahru or Ulu Kelantan as Assistant District Officer or Land Officer.

26. I come now to the crying need of Kelantan - that of communications. Two roads and a few telephone connections are required immediately. From a military point of view, they will minimize the possibility, and the danger of such an outbreak as this: from an administrative point of view, they will lighten and facilitate the work of every government

department; and from the economic point of view they will be invaluable in developing the resources of the country. I am making these roads and telephones the subject of a separate, non-confidential report, and will not therefore discuss them in detail in this report. I will only say that the roads are from Kota Bahru to Pasir Puteh, and from Kota Bahru to Kuala Krai. On both roads the earthwork and bridging have been completed for some miles. Lack of funds has brought the work to a stand still. Estimates supplied to me by the Director of Works and Surveys, Kelantan, give a cost of \$200,000 for the completion of the Kota Bahru - Pasir Puteh road (28 mile), \$152,000 for the completion of the Kota Bahru - Kuala Krai road (44 miles) and \$11,600 for telephones connecting the police stations in Pasir Puteh district. This expenditure would be distributed over two or perhaps three years. Not more than \$100,000 would be required during the current year.

27. The Kelantan Government has not the funds with which to undertake these works, and I understand that neither the Colony nor the Federated Malay States Government is in a position to lend it money. In the circumstances, it may be possible for the Kelantan Government to raise money by a loan from the Mercantile Bank, or perhaps from Towkay Loke Yew. I am convinced that these two roads should be constructed at once as a matter of military precaution, and every one with whom I have discussed the matter has expressed the same opinion.

28. His Highness the Sultan, who was greatly alarmed by the recent outbreak, is not only anxious that the road to Pasir Puteh should be put in hand at once, but wants to have it carried on into Trengganu. So far as I can judge, it is another eight miles from Pasir Puteh to the Trengganu frontier, and thence fifty miles to the capital of Trengganu. That such a road would be of inestimable value in bringing about a better state of affairs in Trengganu is beyond doubt. The road would be worth building as a matter of military precaution alone.

29. I stated in paragraph 27 that the Kelantan Government was not in a position to pay for the construction of the roads advocated in this report. It is necessary therefore to consider its financial position. Its assets and liabilities are set forth in the statement attached, which is taken from the British Adviser's annual report for 1914. The principal indebtedness is in respect of the following loans.



i. Loan from the Federated Malay States in respect of the payment under the Draft Cancellation Deed	\$3,000,000
ii. Loan from the Federated Malay States for general purposes, especially for survey	250,000
iii. Loan from the Straits Settlements for general purposes	120,000
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	\$3,370,000
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Its revenue and expenditure for the last six years have been as follows in round figures:

	Total Revenue	Total Expenditure	Expenditure on special Services, P.W.D.
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1909	371,000	377,000	9,000
1910	419,000	404,000	44,000
1911	488,000	570,000	82,000 (\$78,000 on roads)
1912	536,000	665,000	126,000 (\$56,000 on roads)
1913	676,000	672,000	104,000 (\$31,000 on roads)
1914	763,000	806,000	38,000 (\$22,000 on roads)

Though the revenue has increased in a satisfactory manner, it has been outstripped by the expenditure - a very expensive item of special expenditure being the survey of the State and the agricultural holdings. There is practically no mining in the State, and the only present hope of increased revenue lies in the development of the Land Revenue. No sudden large increase of revenue can therefore be expected ; and the State will not be able to repay any loan for many years to come. It should however be able to pay the interest upon the loan required for the road constructions indicated in this report, as well as upon the loans it has already contracted.

30. In this connection, I may say that I am of the opinion that Kelantan is certain to enter the Federation before many years are over -- possibly as soon as Pahang and Kelantan are linked by railway. The Malays are unable to take their part in the administration of the State, and the work falls upon a very small staff of European Officers.

31. This last matter for consideration in this long and diffuse report is that of payment of the cost of the expeditionary force to suppress the outbreak. I venture to suggest that no charge be made for the services rendered by H.M.S. "Cadmus", that in respect of the troops from Singapore all charges, except actual salaries, be paid by Kelantan and that in respect of the Malay States Guides salaries as well as all charges should be paid --. His Highness will appreciate the distinctions; and the fact that admission to the Federation would entitle Kelantan to the services of the Malay States Guides, free of charge, will make its impression on His Highness's mind.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant

W. George Maxwell

Acting Secretary to the High Commissioner

DOKUMEN C

MEMORANDUM on Sly Prostitution in Kuala Lumpur and  
other large Town in the Federated Malay States

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Speaking generally I do not think that the amount of prostitution which goes on in the bigger towns in the Federated Malay States is more than one would expect from similar towns elsewhere, certainly not when one comes to consider the condition, character and habits of the inhabitants, and the great disparity in numbers of the sexes in all the immigrant races one finds here.

2. During the last twenty years, however, a change has come over the character of the prostitution. Formerly men kept women or patronised the regular brothels. Now, however, the "sly" prostitute is the vogue.

3. The patrons of the "sly" prostitute in town are Europeans, Eurasians, Bengalis, Malays (especially unmarried foreign ones) and some Chinese of middle class who have families here and would rather not be seen going to a regular brothel. In China, a Chinese incurs no disgrace by going to a high class brothel or a restaurant at which prostitutes attend the guests to see his friends, but here there is a certain stigma attaching even to a Chinese who frequents brothels.

4. The sly prostitutes were principally Malays or Siamese in the first place, but of recent years, many Chinese have followed their example as also have some Japanese and Eurasians. The latter two classes to some extent keep themselves for the Europeans and better class patronage.

5. I do not think it is correct to say that prostitution goes on in coffee-shops and eating houses, but these places are resorts of sly prostitutes, where a man in search of a woman can go, give her the "glad eye" and either arrange with her there where to meet, or she will follow him outside.

6. In a few cases where, there are coffee shops and eating houses downstairs and lodging houses upstairs, actual prostitution may go on the premises.

7. Many factors have participated to bring about this vogue of the sly prostitute:

- (a) The Confidential Circular Letter from the Secretary of State dated January, 1909. This not only had a deterrent effect on actual concubinage, but led many people to think that occasional lapses from

virtue would be considered equally reprehensible and so led to attempts at concealment and the patronage of sly prostitutes.

- (b) The increase in the number of Kinemas. These provide a place where the sly prostitute can regularly display herself and where men in search of a prostitute can easily find one without courting the publicity of the regular brothels.
- (c) The inmates of regular brothels found their better class customers falling off and they began to receive engagements from customers of a lower class with the result that eventually these brothels became haunts of Malays and Southern Indians. These affected the Japanese brothels mostly and caused the local Japanese not directly connected with brothels to start an agitation to get these brothels closed, whether their inmates continued prostitution or not, with the result that -
- (d) A considerable number of Japanese brothels shut down. This decreased the number of the brothels, but the inmates were not all repatriated. Many became nominally servants in coffee-shops, etc., but clandestinely carry on their old occupation.
- (e) The slump has affected the prosperity of many regular brothels and the keepers being unable to pay the high rent usually demanded for brothels have closed down. This has affected Chinese brothels as well, and the inmates following the examples of Malays, Japanese and Straits Born Chinese, have become "sly" and extended their clientele to include all nationalities.
- (f) Among Malays, the increase in the amount of "Mas kawin" for the marriage of an "Anak Dara".

Formerly the regular amount was \$22.50, but now, in all the Western States, very much larger sums are demanded often as much as \$100 to \$125.

This except in boom times is a very considerable sum to Malays with a result that instead of Malay men getting married in their teens the age is now postponed to 25 or 26.

A divorcee could be married for much less, but, of course, it is not the thing for a Malay in his own State to marry a divorcee as a first wife. So more of the young Malays are driven to illicit intercourse to satisfy their sexual desires.

- (g) Among Europeans, the feverish and insatiable thirst for gaiety and excitement, which finds its expression locally in indulgence in the various sensuous forms of "jazz" dances. I believe that the result of the excitement produced by participation in these dances is to drive many young men out to find women willing to satisfy the desires aroused.
- (h) Sikhs are forbidden by their religion to have intercourse with a woman other than their wives. There are very few Sikhs here who are married, consequently the bulk of this class of the community are driven to the cult of the sly prostitute, instead of patronising the inmate of the regular brothel.

8. In addition to the reasons for the vogue and genesis of sly prostitutes given above, there are the following reasons why they abound:

- (a) The case with which a Mohammedan can divorce his wife.

Many Malay women are married at 13 or 14 to very young husbands. After they have been married a few years the husband tires of his wife and divorces her. By this time, she is at an age when she is sexually vigorous. Before marriage a Malay woman is kept carefully shut up and looked after but as a "divorcee", she enjoys a practically unrestrained freedom to which she has hitherto been unaccustomed. In addition to this she has been put to shame by her husband and it is small wonder that she decided to give reins to her sexual desires and have a good time either as an enthusiastic amateur or a professional. In the present state of education of Malay women a divorcee unless she happens to get remarried, has few interests to which she can devote herself.

- (b) The raising of the age at which prostitutes are allowed to enter regular brothels from 16 to 20. This, in my opinion, has been reasonable for a great increase in sly prostitution. It has chiefly affected the Chinese. In this country, there are many girls who attain maturity at 13 to 14 years of age. Between this age and 20 there are many who are determined prostitutes either having been trained up with this one idea before them or having already been prostitutes in some other country. Such girls cannot enter a regular brothel, so they are driven to sly prostitution, in which state they are far worse off than the inmate of a regular brothel, as not only do they lack the protection afforded by the Women and Girls Protection

Ordinance but they are always open to black-mail, and in defence often put themselves under the protection of some person who merely exploits them.

9. It is hardly within the realm of practicability to hope for any alteration in the above two prime causes, one being an inherent part of the Mohammedan religion, and the other a result of the Colony's adherence to the standard of the League of Nations, probably more or less in accordance with instructions of or at least strongly intimated wishes from the Secretary of State.

10. The question of dealing with sly prostitution is a most difficult one as there is great danger that in order to combat this evil one must introduce rules which infringe on the liberty of the subject. Further it is necessary to avoid anything which will render respectable people open to blackmail for the delinquencies of their lodgers or dependents.

11. As the law stands at present, the prostitute herself cannot be punished. Punishment can only be inflicted on brothel keepers, pimps and bawds. In order to constitute it a "brothel" a place must be used by two or more persons for the purposes of prostitution. If this has been established, an order may be made by the Protector or a Magistrate on the keeper of the brothel, or its tenant to close the brothel. If the brothel continues open the brothel keeper may be prosecuted in Court and fined for disobedience of the order. If this step has been successfully taken, an order may be issued to the owner of the house and if the house still continues to be used as a brothel the owner also is liable. This procedure on the face of it would appear to be simple, but in practice there are innumerable difficulties in the way of getting convictions".

- (a) The order can only be issued against a certain person in respect of certain premises. In order to defeat subsequent proceedings all that is necessary is for the person who pays the rent to be changed. In the last resort the brothel can always be removed next door. In either case there is a return to the "status quo".
- (b) The difficulty of obtaining evidence which will satisfy the Court.

In order to obtain a conviction in Court evidence must be obtained that two or more girls are using the place for the purpose of prostitution. To establish the fact of their prostitution, it is necessary to get two men, give them marked money, tell them to go to the brothel and engage prostitutes and then raid the house when the men are there. With reference to this procedure quite apart from the odium attaching to any officer who

goes into Court and admits he has adopted this procedure there is the danger of infection to the agent provocateur for which I presume, Government should be responsible. Further it is extremely difficult to get any one but the very dregs of society to be willing to undertake such a task, and give evidence of it in Court, and it is just such people who, if one used successfully, would have no scruples in going round and blackmailing all sly prostitutes in the town whether living in brothels or not.

- (c) The present state of the social conscience of the community, which on the whole is satisfied with the state of affairs as it is and therefore its members do not come forward to give evidence of what they know as apart from hearsay. Apart from the medical aspect of venereal disease, complaints mainly come directly or indirectly from a very limited number of sources, principally from missionaries, who, I believe, speak from hearsay. It has become a platitude that it is impossible to make people moral by legislation or in advance of the social conscience. It would appear that the remedy should be with the missionaries who should so work upon their flocks that their minds may be raised above possible contamination by the social evil, which is certainly condoned by the bulk of the community.

12. In spite of my general opinion that prostitution is no worse here than might be expected, there are certain points in respect of which improvement might be made, in order to make indulgence rather more difficult:

- (a) Section 16(1)(b) of the Women and Girls Protection Ordinance should be amended by the omission of the word "persistently".

This as should be the case would make even a single act of solicitation by a male person punishable.

- (b) The keeper of a hotel, tavern, ale house, coffee shop or eating house and boarding house, etc., should be made responsible for the acts of his servants permitting prostitutes or persons of notoriously bad character to meet or remain on his premises.

In section 23 of the Minor Offences Enactment 1920, the word "knowingly" should be omitted. This is a great stumbling block to the success of prosecutions. The penalty also should be increased to \$300 for a first offence and \$500 for a second or subsequent offence.

- (c) Hotels and Lodging Houses should be required to take out licenses. This has already been recommended in correspondence C.S.O.G. 850/1920. The suggestion was at first approved in principle by the Residents but the Enactment drafted to carry it out failed to meet with their approval and they were in favour of leaving the law pretty much as it is at present when only Chinese Native Passenger Lodging Houses, whatever they may be, require to take out licenses.
- (d) Licenses to Native Coffee-shops, Eating Houses, Restaurants etc. should only be issued by the Sanitary Boards quarterly and a successful prosecution or a representation from the Protectorate that the shop used for immoral purposes should be certain grounds for the cancellation or non renewal of the licence.
- (e) In correspondence C.S.O. 4773/1915, the suggestion was made that there should be an amendment of section 8 of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment giving the Protector power to order any prostitute whom he has reason to suspect to be diseased to be examined. The suggestion made therein was not adopted. Although the suggestion was made from the point of view of venereal disease the existence of such power should have a very considerable deterrent effect on the activities of the sly prostitute.

As there might be some objection to the wide powers there suggested to be given to the Protector they might perhaps be modified to provide for the compulsory examination of any woman to whom a protection ticket has been issued, or who may have been issued, or who may have been found on any premises against the occupier of which an order has been made by the Protector under section 27(i) of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment.

- (f) The following amendment to section 28 of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment would also probably be of considerable effect in dealing with "sly" brothels, but is open to some objection:

The section as it stands at present to be repealed and the following substituted -

"If the tenant, occupier, or keeper of any premises not being the owner thereof has been ordered by a Magistrate of the First Class or the Protector to discontinue the use of such premises as a brothel or lodging house for prostitutes or disorderly persons under section 27(i) and the owner of such premises has received at least one month's notice



of such order, such owner shall in the event of any subsequent conviction of any person of an offence under this Enactment in respect of such premises be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for the first offence or five hundred dollars for a second or subsequent offence."

"All prosecutions under this section require the previous sanction of the officer in charge of the Chinese Protectorate in the state".

13. The objection to this last amendment is that if an order is made on a tenant and that tenant disobeyed it the owner of the house is liable. This principle is accepted at present in respect of what amounts to a third conviction in respect of the premises. The above suggested amendment accelerates the power to prosecute by eliminating one step.

Sd. W.T. Chapman  
Secretary for Chinese Affairs  
F.M.S.

**DOKUMEN D**

**Minit Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu  
Semenanjung Tanah Melayu Yang Kedua Kali**

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Peringatan Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Yang Kedua Kali diadakan pada hari Rabu dan Khamis 25 dan 26hb Disember 1940 di rumah Persekutuan Guru-Guru Melayu Singapura, Palembang Road, Singapura.

**Yang hadir bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Perak:**

Encik Tak, Datuk Muda Orang Kaya-Kaya Panglima Kinta  
Encik Ahmad Karim

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Selangor:**

Y.M. Tengku Ismail b. Tengku Mohd. Yassin (Peguan)  
Y.M. Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya  
Y.M. Raja Yaakob b. Raja Alang  
Encik Ismail b. Mohd. Saad  
Encik Yunus b. Abdul Hamid  
Encik Noraldin b. Nawi  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. Kamal  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. Dahlan Mashod

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Pahang:**

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setia Raja  
Encik Mohd. b. Bagina Besar

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Negeri Sembilan:**

Y.T.M. Tengku Nasir (Tg. Panglima Besar)  
Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid  
Y.M. Raja Mohd Noordin b. Raja Dali

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Sarawak:**

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Datuk Bentara  
Encik Mohd. Johari b. Inang  
Encik Mohd. Mahmud b. Noor

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Brunei:**

Encik Mohd. Hassan

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Johor:**

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib  
Capt. Mohd. Noor b. Hj. Ismail  
Encik Jaafar b. Hj. Abd. Rahman  
Tuan Hj. Hashim b. Hitam  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. b. Hj. Hassan  
Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Kelantan:**

Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob  
Encik Ismail b. Ibrahim

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka:**

Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf  
Encik Osman b. Kering (Orang Kaya Seri Raja Merah Datuk  
Penghulu Naning)  
Encik Sidin b. Abdullah

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan  
Pulau Pinang:**

Encik Abdul Majid b. Abd Hamid  
Encik Abu Bakar b. Mohd. Noor  
Encik Abdul Wahab b. Mohd. Zain

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat  
(Singapura):**

Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (J.P.)  
Encik Ashak b. Ahmad  
Tuan Putera Jumaat  
Encik Ismail b. Abdul Aziz  
Encik Yunan b. Hj. Daim  
Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim

Hari yang pertama 25hb Disember 1940 persidangan diadakan pada pukul 9.35 pagi.

Sebelum persidangan dimulakan maka sekumpulan kanak-kanak dari Sekolah Melayu Tanglin Tinggi menyanyi suatu lagu Kebangsaan Melayu dipandu oleh Encik Mohd. Sidik bin Hj. Ismail

Encik Daud bin Mohd. Syah, Yang Di Pertua Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura), memberi suatu ucapan bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura) mengalu-alukan kedatangan wakil-wakil bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang hadir dan mengenalkan mereka itu kepada persidangan.

Yang Mulia Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin, Yang Di Pertua Persatuan Melayu Selangor, membalas ucapan selamat itu bagi pihak Persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang lain.

Dengan cadangan Encik Daud bin Mohd. Syah dan disokongi oleh Encik Mohd. Ali bin Mohd. Araf, Y.M. Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin dengan sebulat suara dipilih menjadi pengerusi dan dengan cadangan Tuan Hj. Hashim bin Hitam serta disokong oleh Encik Jaafar b. Hj. Abdul Manan, Encik Ishak b. Hj. Mohammad dengan sebulat suara dipilih menjadi Setiausaha bagi persidangan itu.

Tuan Pengerusi melafazkan suatu ucapan terimakasih kepada persidangan kerana memilih akan dia jadi Pengerusi seraya menyebut perihal perjumpaan pertama yang telah diadakan di Kuala Lumpur dalam bulan Ogos tahun 1939 dan dihadiri oleh wakil-wakil bagi tujuh buah persatuan-persatuan Melayu.

Lepas itu persidangan membicarakan fasal pembahagian undi kerana bilangan wakil-wakil bagi sesebuah persidangan yang mengambil bahagian tidak sama banyaknya: iaitu ada yang dua, ada yang tiga, ada yang lima, dan ada pula yang delapan orang. Keputusannya ditetapkan tiap-tiap sebuah persatuan beroleh satu undi sahaja. Maka Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka dan Cawangan Pulau Pinang dihitungkan seperti persatuan-persatuan bersendirian dan beroleh satu undi masing-masing.

Giliran yang pertama membawa cadangan terjatuh kepada Persatuan Melayu Perak dan cadangannya ialah: "bagaimana jalannya untuk meluaskan pelajaran anak-anak Melayu laki-laki dan perempuan pada masa yang akan datang" Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta, Yang DiPertua Persatuan Melayu Perak, bangun bercakap. Wakil Perak itu tidak membutirkan sesuatu cadangan yang tertentu bahkan ia membukakan perkara itu bagi timbangan persidangan.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) bercakap memberi fikirannya serta mendatangkan syor supaya diadakan scholarship kerana pelajaran tinggi oleh sekalian Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu. Keduanya ia mengesyorkan supaya pelajaran di Sekolah Melayu dinaikkan hingga darjah enam dan tujuh dimana-mana tempat yang patut diadakan. Ketiganya ia mengesyorkan supaya diadakan sekolah pertukangan dengan ajaran dalam bahasa Melayu. Bagi anak-anak perempuan Melayu ia padakan dengan pelajaran Sekolah Melayu seperti yang ada sekarang, termasuk pelajaran rumahtangga. Melainkan anak-anak perempuan bagi orang-orang kaya. Mereka itu Tuan Hj. Mohamad b. Hassan (Johor), mengesyorkan supaya ajaran tulisan rumi dalam Sekolah-Sekolah dihapuskan dan digantikan dengan ajaran bahasa Inggeris.

Encik Mohamad Yunus b. Hamid (Selangor) mengesyorkan supaya ditanam perasaan kebangsaan Melayu pada murid-murid di Sekolah-Sekolah Melayu. Ia bersetuju dengan syor menaikkan darjah Sekolah Melayu dan mengadakan scholarship.

Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya (Selangor) dan Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Zaib (Johor) menyokong syor-syor Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (wakil Singapura). Raja Bon mengesyorkan supaya ditulis surat rayuan kepada perintahan. Cadangan ini disokong oleh Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura).

Raja Yaakob b. Raja Alang (Selangor) menunjukkan bahawa masa pada sisi wakil-wakil itu pendek pada hal banyak cadangan yang ditimbangkan. Ia mengesyorkan supaya cadangan-cadangan yang besar dan utama sahaja dibawa ke tengah.

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setis Raja (Pahang) dan Encik Mohd. Ali b. Araf (Melaka) memberi fikiran masing-masing berkenaan perkara ini.

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas buah-buah fikiran yang dibentangkan dan menyatakan pendapatnya sendiri iaitu scholarship sayugia diadakan oleh masing-masing persatuan. Ia bersetuju supaya dinaikkan pelajaran Sekolah Melayu.

Encik Ismail b. Mohd. Syah (Selangor) mencadangkan, disokongi Encik Ibrahim b. Haji Yaakob (Kelantan), bahawa perkara ini ditangguhkan. Cadangan ini diluluskan oleh persidangan.

Apabila tiba pada giliran Persatuan Melayu Selangor membawa cadangan-cadangannya maka Tengku Pengurus menyatakan ada suatu cadangan persatuannya yang tidak sempat dimasukkan di dalam kerja-kerja persidangan ini iaitu, "patut persatuan-persatuan Melayu mengadakan kumpulan wang kerana membeli kapalterbang "Spitfire". Ia berharap perkara ini boleh kiranya dibenar dibicarakan oleh persidangan.

Pada tentang ini Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura) bangun menyatakan yang kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura) ada suatu cadangan seumpama cadangan Selangor itu juga. Ia menambah kata lagi sekiranya persidangan bersetuju bolehlah perkara ini dibentangkan oleh Wakil Singapura yang telah ditetapkan akan membawanya iaitu Tuan Putera Jumaat.

Tuan Putera Jumaat (Singapura) mencadangkan supaya Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian dalam persidangan ini bersekutu mengadakan loteri kerana membantu perintahan Inggeris dalam masa peperangan yang ada ini. Cadangan itu disokong oleh Tuan Hj. Hashim (Johor) dan disertai oleh Raja Yaakob (Selangor).

Apabila perkara ini dikemukakan kepada Persidangan maka Encik Mohd. Tahar (Pahang) dan Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) menyokong cadangan itu. Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor)

menyatakan fikirannya tidak bersetuju wang kumpulan itu dibelikan kapal terbang kerana iaitu akan membunuh kanak-kanak dan perempuan.

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas seraya mengatakan jikalau kita tidak membunuh musuh nescaya dia akan membunuh kanak-kanak dan perempuan kita sendiri. Keputusannya persidangan bersetuju dengan sebulat suara menolong pemerintahan Inggeris dengan seberapa daya-upaya dalam masa peperangan itu. Dengan cadangan Tengku Pengerusi dan disokongi oleh Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta maka suatu Jawatankuasa dilantik bagi menghalusi jalan-jalan yang baik sekali pada mengadakan bantuan itu. Jawatankuasa itu mengandungi seorang daripada tiap-tiap Persatuan Melayu yang hadir. Nama-nama tuan-tuan yang dipilih jadi anggota jawatankuasa itu adalah seperti dibawah ini:

Singapura	-	Tuan Putera Jumaat
Perak	-	Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta
Selangor	-	Y.M. Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya
Pahang	-	Encik Mohamad b. Baginda Besar
Negeri Sembilan	-	Datuk Raja DiRaja Muid
Sarawak	-	Encik Mohamad Makmun b. Nor
Brunei	-	Encik Mohd. Hassan
Melaka	-	Datuk Penghulu Naning
Pulau Pinang	-	Encik Abd. Majid b. Abd. Hamid
Johor	-	Tuan Hj. Mohamad b. Hj. Hassan
Kelantan	-	Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob

Setiausaha Jawatankuasa ini ialah Encik Ishak b. Hj. Mohamad, Setiausaha Persidangan. Kemudian persidangan terus pula menimbangkan cadangan-cadangan Persatuan Melayu Selangor. Tengku Pengerusi membawa cadangan, "cukai pendapatan tidak patut dijalankan dalam Malaya". Tengku Pengerusi memberi beberapa sebab maka cukai pendapatan itu tidak patut dikenakan dalam negeri ini. Setengah daripada sebab-sebabnya ialah cukai itu tidak sama berat. Pada masa ini telah diketahui kecabulan kakitangan-kakitangan pemerintahan. Cukai itu akan memberi pekerjaan kepada orang asing lebih daripada orang Melayu. Apabila berjalan cukai itu kelak orang-orang asing akan menuntut lebih-lebih hak negeri kerana maka itu taat dan membayar cukai. Pada masa ini belum ada orang yang cukup faham berkenaan dengan cukai pendapatan. Kira-kira perniagaan dalam negeri ini berlainan aturannya. Oleh itu sukar hendak dikira cukai itu. Dan lagi jikalau berjalan cukai itu nescaya terbuka rahsia-rahsia perniagaan. Lagi pula tidak ada sesuatu akuan yang menentukan bahawa cukai itu tidak diturunkan hadnya. Dan penghabisannya sungguh pun dikatakan cukai itu akan dikenakan dalam masa peperangan ini sahaja, harus juga iaitu akan menjadi cukai yang tetap.

Hingga ini (12.30) persidangan pun ditangguhkan dan wakil-wakil itu pun beredar ke Islamic Restaurant di North Bridge Road kerana makan tengah hari.

Apabila persidangan disambungkan semula maka Y.M. Tengku Ismail mengulangi lagi sebab-sebabnya maka patut dibangkang cukai pendapatan itu.

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor) menyokong cadangan Selangor itu.

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) mencadangkan suatu pindaan kepada cadangan yang asal itu. Kata Encik Abd. Rahim, "saya cadangkan bahawa perkataan "Malaya" dalam cadangan yang asal itu dipinda dengan Perkataan-perkataan "Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu". Dalam Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu (Malay States) boleh dibangkang cukai pendapatan kerana Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu itu ialah Sovereign State (Kerajaan-Kerajaan Pertuan) yang tidak terkandung dalam British Empire (Pemerintahan Besar British) ertinya Kerajaan Pertuan itu ia mengeluarkan perintah kepada sekalian manusia dan persatuan dalam negeri dan ia tidak menerima perintah dari luar negeri.

"Sekiranya diluluskan juga cukai pendapatan didalam Straits Settlement (Pendudukan-pendudukan Selat) maka bukanlah ertinya tak dapat tidak diluluskan jua dia dalam Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu. Saya suka menguatkan bahawa tiap-tiap orang Melayu ialah satu anggota bagi Kerajaan Melayu. Ianya berhak berkata-kata sebelum dikeluarkan sesuatu undang-undang.

"Ada pun Pendudukan-pendudukan Selat ini lainlah kiranya. Iaitu tanah yang dipunyai oleh Great Britain pada hal di Great Britain isi negerinya dikenakan cukai pendapatan, di atas itu pula nyawa mereka sekarang ada dihujung tanduk. Jadi tidaklah molek tanah jajahan seperti Penduduk-Pendudukan Selat ini tidak menurut tauladan negeri ibunya.

"Sebanyak yang berkenaan dengan Pendudukan-Pendudukan Selat, Kesatuan Melayu Selat berfikir patut diadakan cukai pendapatan dan keputusan itu sudah pun dihamparkan kepada pemerintahan. Tinggal lagi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu boleh membangkang cukai pendapatan dengan alasan-alasan siasah dan perlembagaan (Political dan Constitutional Reasons)"

Pindaan itu disokong oleh Raja Bon bin Raja Yahaya.

Encik Ibrahim b. Yaakob wakil Kelantan membangkang dan bangkangannya itu disokong oleh Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta, wakil Perak.

Cadangan itu seperti yang dipinda pun diundikan, keputusannya pihak cadangan dapat tujuh undi berlawanan dengan tiga undi bagi pihak pembangkang.

Cadangan Persatuan Melayu Selangor, bahawa bahasa Melayu dan tulisan Jawi patut dijadikan bahasa dan tulisan perjawatan oleh Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu". Itu tidak dibawa ketengah.

Cadangan Selangor yang akhir iaitu, "taarif Melayu pada Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian dalam persidangan itu patut disatukan". Dibentangkan oleh Raja Yaakob Raja Alang. Taarif Melayu yang dikehendakinya begini; Yang dikatakan "Melayu" itu ialah seseorang yang keturunannya dari sebelah bapa berasal daripada Semenanjung Melayu atau Gugusan Pulau-Pulau Melayu dan berpegang dengan adat-adat Melayu serta beragama Islam.

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Datuk Bentara (Sarawak) menyokong cadangan Selangor itu.

Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura), berkata sekiranya dikehendaki taarif Melayu itu serupa pada segala syaratnya barangkali sukar sedikit. Ia bersetuju dengan syarat keturunan dari sebelah bapa akan tetapi tidak bersetuju dengan syarat beragama Islam. Bagi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu; pada fikirannya taarif Melayu Johor itu molek. Dan lagi ia menunjukkan bahawa takrif Melayu bagi Kesatuan Melayu Selat mempunyai syarat "taraf rupabangsa" (Nasional Status). Ertinya hanyalah orang Melayu rakyat British atau rakyat yang dibawah naungan British sahaja dibenarkan masuk bersekutu, pada takrif Melayu Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang lain tidak ada syarat ini.

Raja Mohd. Noruldin b. Raja Deli (Negeri Sembilan) menerangkan iaitu sudah hendak diikut takrif Melayu seperti cadangan wakil Selangor itu didalam Negeri Sembilan kerana disana ada berlaku adat perpatih, dan adat itu pula mengambil keturunan pesaka dari sebelah ibu. Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid pun bercakap juga menambah keterangan Raja Mohd. Noruldin itu.

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setiaraja (Pahang) berkata pada tentang ianya sendiri sangat bersetuju dengan takrif mengikut keturunan sebelah bapa itu. Akan tetapi persatuan yang diwakilinya itu tiada mempunyai takrif Melayu. Hanya terpulanglah kepada Jawatankuasa persatuan itu menimbangkan seseorang itu Melayukah atau tidak, apabila ia minta bersekutu. Biasanya jawatankuasa itu menilik, pada tentang orang yang bukan keturunan Melayu jati, adakah dia mempunyai telateh Melayu dan adakah hatinya cenderung pada orang Melayu. Jika adalah ianya demikian maka terimalah permintaan hendak bersekutu itu.

Encik Mohamad b. Baginda Besar (Wakil Pahang juga) berkata iaitu susah hendak diketahui seseorang itu Melayu hatikah atau tidak. Bapangkali diketahui oleh persidangan ini, katanya lagi, bahwa pada zaman purbakala orang-orang



asing telah datang ke Semenanjung dan ke Gugusan Pulau-Pulau Melayu ini. Boleh jadi setengah-setengah orang yang mengaku Melayu jati itu hanyasanya keturunan daripada orang-orang asing itu.

Encik Mohamad Yunus Abd. Hamid berujar bahawa sekalian manusia dalam dunia ini ialah keturunan Nabi Adam. Akan tetapi pada masa ini telah ada berbagai-bagai bangsa. Oleh itu tentulah ada sesuatu masanya sesuatu puak manusia itu jadi satu keturunan yang tertentu. Umpamanya, kata Encik Mohd. Yunus lagi, jika orang Melayu itu mulai dikatakan (Melayu) pada masa Raja Besar Iskandar atau Raja Iskandar Dzulkarnain, maka daripada masa itulah turun kepada hari ini mereka itu dipanggil "Melayu". Yang ke atas daripada masa Raja Iskandar Besar tidaklah dikatakan "Melayu".

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas pendapatan-pendapatan yang dibawa oleh jurucakap-jurucakap itu sambil ia meminta kepada persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang belum mempunyai takrif atau mempunyai takrif yang tidak ketat supaya berbuat demikian. Dalam perkara ini persidangan tiada mengambil sesuatu keputusan hanya memulangkan perkara takrif itu kepada Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu itu masing-masing.

Cadangan Persekutuan Melayu Negeri Sembilan yang pertama iaitu mengeluarkan Majalah bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu itu ditangguhkan kepada tahun akan datang kerana menimbangkan pada masa sekarang dunia sedang bergelora.

Cadangan Negeri Sembilan yang kedua ialah berkenaan dengan meminta kepada pemerintahan supaya melantik seseorang Melayu jati jadi wakil dalam sebarang utusan bersangkut paut dengan Tanah Melayu yang dihantarkan oleh pemerintahan keluar negeri. Cadangan itu dibawa oleh Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid. Dalam ucapannya Datuk itu menyebutkan utusan Ahyam dan utusan Tanah Melayu bagi persidangan kumpulan Timur yang baharu diadakan di Delhi itu. Dalam kedua-kedua utusan itu tiada seorang pun wakil Melayunya. Ia menambah kata lagi bahawa orang Melayu sekarang bukanlah orang Melayu enam puluh tahun dahulu. Orang Melayu sekarang ada mempunyai pengetahuan pada perkara tentera dan perkara ketukangan dan sebagainya.

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) pada menyokong cadangan itu berkata: Saya menyertai perundingan wakil Negeri Sembilan itu. Sebagai menambah perkataan atau alasan pihak pencadang itu saya suka menguatkan bahawa "Melayu" atau "Tanah Melayu" itu mengandungi yang pertamanya Pendudukan-Pendudukan Selat (S.S.) dan yang keduanya Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu atau Malay States. Perhatikanlah kiranya perkataan-perkataan "Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu" itu kerana mengikut perbahasan pengetahuan cara siasah "Kerajaan" dan "Negeri" itu berlainan maknanya. Kerajaan-kerajaan Melayu itu tidak termasuk dalam pemerintahan besar British.

Apabila dihantar dari sini wakil-wakil bagi persidangan di luar negeri wakil-wakil itu biasanya digelar Malayan delegates atau "Wakil-wakil Tanah Melayu"> Sekiranya digunakan gelaran "Wakil-Wakil Negeri Selat" nescaya mengertilah kita orang Melayu. Akan tetapi apabila digunakan gelaran "Wakil-Wakil Tanah Melayu" - pada hal tidak ada seorang pun orang Melayunya di antara mereka itu - tak dapat tiada orang Melayu raya berasa yang mereka itu sehingga dilupakan dan hak-hak mereka tidak diindahkan.

"Sebagai lagi, Great Britain sekarang sedang mempertahankan lunas-lunas kuasa ramai (democratic principle) dalam peperangan yang ada ini. Suatu daripada lunas-lunas kuasa ramai itu ialah "self government" (perintahan sendiri).

Sedikit masa dahulu seorang Menteri British ada berujar begini: "Tujuan kita bukannya hendak memerintah kaum lain bahkan hendak menolong kaum lain memerintah diri mereka sendiri". Inilah dasar perintah British. Sekarang orang Melayu ingin hendak mengambil bahagian dalam tadbir negeri mereka lebih besar daripada yang ada sekarang. Dari sebab itu patut diberi peluang kepada mereka berbuat demikian.

Pada penghabisan perkataan saya maka saya menyokong rundingan wakil Negeri Sembilan tadi iaitu persidangan ini berpendapatan bahawa bila-bila masa perintahan menghantar wakil-wakil Tanah Melayu bagi persidangan-persidangan di luar negeri hendaklah ada sekurang-kurangnya seorang Wakil Melayu". Cadangan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Persidangan Melayu Pahang dan Kesatuan Melayu Brunei tidak membawa apa-apa cadangan.

Persidangan hari yang pertama tamat pada pukul 4.30 petang. Wakil-wakil beredar ke Hotel Kapalterbang di Kelang kerana jamuan teh yang diadakan oleh Persidangan Melayu Kelantan.

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Di antara tetamu yang hadir dalam majlis jamuan itu ialah Y.B. Encik Onn bin Jaafar, anggota Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan dan Mesyuarat Kerajaan Johor, (ianya hadir juga pada persidangan dari pukul 2 petang itu sebagai seorang pemerhati), Alfazal Tuan Hj. Mohamad Fazallah Suhaimi Al Zahri, Gurubesar -----, Alfardus, Singapura, Syed Ahmad bin Mohd -----, J.P., Encik Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Zaaba), Syed Mohd bin Alsagof, Tuan Hj. Abd. Hamid Fazal Al Muari dan lain-lainnya lagi.

Encik Ibrahim bin Hj. Yaakob, Wakil Persatuan Melayu Kelantan, memberi ucapan bagi pihak penjamu. Menjawab bagi pihak tetamu Y.B. Encik Onn bin Jaafar memberi suatu ucapan yang mengandungi bernas dan nasihat yang berguna serta galakan yang gembira bagi kejayaan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu. Diantara lain-lain ia berkata yang orang-orang Melayu belum jatuh dan tidak akan jatuh. Orang Melayu lemah bukan kerana tak pandai, bukan kerana miskin, akan tetapi kerana tidak ada penganjur-penganjur. Katanya lagi oleh kerana sekarang telah ada persatuan-persatuan Melayu hendaklah pegawai-pegawai persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sungguh-sungguh. Ianya percaya sekiranya persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sungguh-sungguh, hak-hak orang Melayu pada perkara tadbir dan negeri akan beransur-ansur kembali kepada mereka itu. Sebaliknya jikalau persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sambil lewa sahaja lebih baiklah tutup akan dia semuanya.

Tuan-tuan yang bercakap lain daripada Y.B. Encik Onn dalam majlis itu ialah Y.M. Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin dan Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah.

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Hari Yang Kedua 26hb Disember 1940 Persidangan diadakan pada pukul 9.30 pagi.

Semua wakil-wakil persatuan-persatuan itu hadir melainkan Y.T.M. Tengku Nasir, Tg. Panglima Besar, Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang, iaitu seorang wakil Kesatuan Melayu Johor, hadir pada kali yang pertama hari ini.

Setelah persidangan dibuka oleh Tg. Pengerusi, maka Encik Daud b. Mohd. Shah berkata oleh sebab kerja-kerja, persidangan itu banyak lagi yang akan diputuskan, ia meminta supaya seorang wakil dibenarkan bercakap atas sesuatu rundingan hanya sekali sahaja. Persidangan bersetuju dengan cara Encik Daud itu.

Setiausaha persidangan menyatakan bahawa jawatankuasa yang bersidang pada malam tadi pertamanya di Hotel Kapalterbang di Kallang dan keduanya di rumah Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah di Siglap itu telah mendapat keputusan bersetuju membantu pemerintahan British. Dalam masa peperangan ini dengan jalan loteri. Aturan-aturan ditetapkan adalah seperti ini:

1. Pengelolaan bagi menjalankan loteri itu dipulangkan kepada Kesatuan Melayu Negeri Selat-Selat (Singapura).

2. 40 peratus daripada wang pendapatan loteri itu akan dikirimkan kepada Tuan Winston Churchill melalui Tuan Gabenor bagi membeli kapalterbang "Spitfire"
3. 50 peratus akan diberi sebagai hadiah-hadiah dengan jalan "War Savings Certificate".

iaitu:

25 peratus bagi hadiah yang pertama.

12 peratus bagi hadiah yang kedua & peratus bagi hadiah yang ketiga.

Bakinya dibahagikan kepada 100 hadiah-hadiah hiburan.

10 peratus diperbuat perbelanjaan-perbelanjaan keputusan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

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Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Johor ialah "Perkebunan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu" iaitu dibawa oleh Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib. Tuan Doktor itu menerangkan bagaimana kekayaan tanah melayu telah dan sedang diperah oleh orang-orang asing pada hal orang-orang Melayu tidak berharta dan bertambah miskin. Ia mengesyurkan supaya persatuan-persatuan Melayu mengadakan "syer" sebanyak dua juta ringgit berharga seringgiti pada satu "syer" kerana membeli ladang getah atau ladang kelapa dan sebagainya.

Cadangan itu disokong oleh Encik Mohd. Yunus Abdul Hamid (Selangor) dan Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei). Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) dan Encik Daud b. Mohd Shah (wakil Singapura juga) menerangkan yang cadangan itu termasuk kedalam perkara perniagaan pada hal berkenaan dengan perniagaan, Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat tidak dibenarkan menjalankannya.

Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang (Johor) menguatkan lagi keterangan-keterangan yang dibentangkan oleh rakannya Dr. Hamzah itu. Encik Mohd. Sahar bin Setia Raja (Pahang) menerangkan sekiranya hendak dijalankan cadangan Johor itu berkehendakan kepada tiga perkara. Pertamanya tanah, keduanya pekerja, ketiganya modal. Menyambungkan perkataannya Encik Mohd. Sahar berkata yang tanah itu masih banyak lagi boleh didapati dengan tidak susah. Tentang pekerja banyak orang Melayu boleh didapati. Hanya pada tentang tadbir orang

Melayu keciwa sedikit, orang Melayu belum ada tadbir yang cukup. Syarat yang ketiganya iaitu modal. Disini setengah orang berkata orang Melayu ada mempunyai modal. Akan tetapi wakil Pahang itu mengingatkan persidangan bahawa yang dikatakan modal itu ialah wang yang lebih daripada hajat-hajat kehidupan, pada hal hanya sedikit sahaja daripada orang Melayu yang ada wang lebih daripada hajat-hajat kehidupan mereka. Dengan alasan-alasan itu, Wakil Pahang itu membangkang cadangan Johor itu.

Tengku Pengerusi ketika mengulas berkata cadangan yang dibawa oleh kesatuan Melayu Johor itu boleh dijalankan dengan tiga cara. Pertamanya, Syarikat Kerjasama; pada tentang ini dikehendaki kebenaran perintahan, keduanya dengan jalan kompeni perniagaan, dan ketiganya dengan jalan persatuan. Akan tetapi perkara ini besar dan susah membuatnya jikalau sekalian persatuan-persatuan itu dikumpulkan sekali. Oleh itu pada fikirannya moleklah perkara ini dicuba dan dijalankan oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu masing-masing. Maka persidangan pun bersetuju dengan syur Tengku Pengerusi itu.

Persatuan Melayu Sarawak jangkanya membawa tiga cadangan tetapi yang pertamanya iaitu "mengadakan lagu kebangsaan Melayu" dibatalkan. Maka yang dua lagi iaitu (1) mencari jalan bagi melebihi kerapatan sama bangsa dan (2) mencari jalan bagi membangunkan semangat perniagaan Melayu telah ada terkandung dalam cadangan-cadangan yang dibawa oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang lain. Dari kerana itu, Encik Mohd. Johari b. Inang, dengan persetujuan wakil-wakil Persatuan Melayu Sarawak maka cadangan-cadangan itu ditarik balik.

Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob, wakil Persekutuan Melayu Keantan membawa cadangan "patut dilantik suatu jawatankuasa bersekutu bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Tanah Melayu, Sarawak dan Brunei kerana menyelidik hal-ehwal kehidupan bangsa Melayu dan memberi syur-syur bagi memperbaikinya.

Cadangan Kelantan itu disokong oleh Y.M. Raja Yaakob bin Raja Alang (Selangor) dan Dr. Hamzah bin Hj. Taib (Johor). Encik Mohd. Sahar b. Setia Raja (Pahang) berkata ianya bukan hendak membangkang cadangan Kelantan itu, kerana cadangan itu bukanlah perkara mustahil tetapi pada perkiraannya tidak boleh jadi. Selidik seperti yang dicadangkan oleh wakil Kelantan itu hendaklah meliputi selidik atas siasah dan ikhtisad. Perkara ini hendaklah digali sampai ke akar tunjangnya. Wakil Pahang itu mengingatkan persidangan bahawa perbelanjaan-perbelanjaan berkenaan dengan perkara itu sangat banyak dan ia berfikir persatuan-persatuan Melayu tidak mampu memberi wang yang dikehendaki itu pada masa ini. Keduanya perkara itu tak dapat tidak diperbuat oleh orang-orang pandai. Katanya lagi barangkali ada orang yang layak

diantara orang Melayu boleh menjalankan selidik itu akan tetapi mereka itu ada kewajipan yang lebih awal dihadapi mereka. Sungguhpun Persatuan Melayu Pahang ada cadangan yang seumpama itu berkenaan dengan Pahang sahaja, akan tetapi kerja itu belum dapat dijalankan oleh jawatankuasanya.

Y.M. Raja Mohd. Nor Aldin bin Raja Deli (Negeri Sembilan) menyokong cadangan Kelantan itu. Ia berkata jawatankuasa yang dicadangkan itu boleh sambil menyelidik hal kesihatan dan pelajaran orang Melayu.

Encik Daud b. Mohd Shah (Singapura) mencadangkan perkara ini ditangguhkan hingga persidangan tahun yang akan datang. Cadangan itu disokong oleh Tg. Pengerusi dengan ulasan yang menasabah, lalu diluluskan oleh persidangan. Pada ketika ini sepucuk kawat dari Setiausaha Kesatuan Melayu Brunei dibacakan, iaitu menyatakan dukacitanya tidak dapat hadir dalam persidangan itu serta mengucapkan selamat dan jaya.

Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka yang pertama, "patut diadakan sekolah pertukangan dengan bahasa Melayu", iaitu dibentangkan oleh Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf.

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor) menyokong cadangan itu.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) mencadangkan suatu pindaan kepada rundingan yang dibawa oleh wakil Melaka itu demikian "meminta kepada pemerintahan mengadakan sekolah pertukangan dalam bahasa Melayu".

Pindaan itu disokong oleh Y.M. Raja Mohd. Nor Aldin b. Raja Ali (Negeri Sembilan) dan dikuatkan lagi oleh Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah (Singapura).

Setelah diulas oleh Tg. Pengerusi maka cadangan ini seperti yang dipinda diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka yang kedua ialah "patut diadakan scholarship bagi Tanah Melayu" telah terkandung didalam cadangan yang dibawa oleh Persatuan Melayu Perak. Oleh itu tidaklah bincangkan dia lagi.

Encik Abd. Majid b. Abd. Hamid, bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Cawangan Pulau Pinang, membentangkan suatu cadangan iaitu, "meminta kepada pemerintahan supaya dilanjutkan umur kanak-kanak Melayu masuk ke Sekolah Inggeris, daripada sebelas tahun kepada dua belas tahun dan dilanjutkan umur mereka lepas sekolah Inggeris kepada 20 tahun".

Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) menyokong cadangan itu. Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf (Melaka) mengesyorkan suatu

pindaan kepada cadangan Pulau Pinang itu dengan tambahan "serta dibenarkan kanak-kanak Melayu masuk ke Sekolah Melayu sekurang-kurangnya berumur 5 tahun". Ia menerangkan kesusahan ibubapa yang mempunyai anak-anak yang hampir enam tahun tetapi tidak diterima masuk ke Sekolah Melayu.

Encik Yunan b. Hj. Daim (Singapura) membangkang pindaan yang dibawa oleh Encik Mohd. Ali bin Mohd Araf itu. Ia menyatakan bahawa kanak-kanak Melayu yang dibawah 6 tahun itu kerap kali tidak maju pelajaran mereka kecuali pada sedikit-sedikitnya.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (S'pura) memberi fikirannya iaitu tidak payahlah meminta kepada perintahan melanjutkan umur sekolah bagi kanak-kanak Melayu. Ia mengesyurkan mana-mana ibubapa Melayu yang mampu bolehlah menghantarkan anak-anak mereka terus ke sekolah Inggeris tidak ke sekolah Melayu lagi.

Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) tidak bersetuju dengan syur Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz itu kerana katanya lebih banyak ibubapa Melayu yang tidak mampu daripada yang mampu.

Pindaan daripada wakil Melaka itu ialah, dan cadangan wakil Pulau Pinang itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Sekarang persidangan beralih menimbangkan cadangan-cadangan daripada Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura).

Cadangan yang pertama ialah "patut meminta kepada perintahan supaya diadakan seorang pengelola bahasa dan pelajaran Melayu, dengan gelaran "Penolong Penguasa Pelajaran Melayu", daripada "Keturunan Melayu Jati". Rundingan ini dibawa oleh Tuan Putera Jumaat wakil Singapura. Dalam ucapannya menerangkan cadangannya itu Tuan Putera Jumaat menyebutkan bahawa pada masa ini bilangan sekolah-sekolah Melayu adalah sebanyak 850 dan bilangan kanak-kanak Melayu yang ada belajar di sekolah-sekolah itu adalah sebanyak 105,000. Pada hal bilangan sekolah-sekolah China di Tanah Melayu itu sampai begitu banyaknya tetapi ada seorang Penolong Penguasa Pelajaran (Cina) disini.

Cadangan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Cadangan Singapura yang kedua ialah "mencari jalan-jalan mendidik perasaan bersatu diantara orang Melayu". Tuan Putera Jumaat membutirkan 'jalan-jalannya ialah dengan perantaraan syarah-syarah dan perdampingan dengan surat-surat khabar Melayu. Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz, wakil Singapura juga, menambah lagi perkataan rakannya dengan jalan berbalas-balas lawatan di antara anggota-anggota persatuan-persatuan Melayu dan dengan jalan temasya bangsa Melayu daripada berbagai-bagai pertunjukan dan permainan padang.

Cadangan itu diterima oleh persidangan dengan gemar dan dicuba melakukannya oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu itu masing-masing.

Cadangan Singapura yang ketiga iaitu, "mencari jalan dengan seberapa daya upaya menyokong pemerintahan British dalam masa peperangan ini" telah diputuskan lebih dahulu oleh persidangan.

Cadangan Singapura yang keempat dibawa oleh Encik Ashak bin Ahmad, wakil Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura). Encik Ashak mencadangkan perjumpaan persatuan-persatuan Melayu ini dinamakan, "Persidangan Bangsa Melayu". Katanya jikalau dipanggil akan dia "perjumpaan" atau "Persidangan Persatuan Melayu Tanah Melayu" sahaja barangkali tidak kena kerana pada hari ini persidangan-persidangan Melayu Sarawak dan Brunei ada sama hadir.

Encik Mohd. Sahar b. Setia Raja (Pahang) menyokong cadangan Singapura itu akan tetapi dengan pindaan perkataan "kebangsaan" ganti perkataan "bangsa".

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) bangun menunjukkan perbezaan diantara "bangsa" dan "kebangsaan". Katanya: "Saya suka hendak menunjukkan perbezaan diantara rupanama "Kebangsaan" atau nationalist atau rupanama "bangsa" atau national. Sesuatu itu dikenakan "kebangsaan" apabila ia cenderung kepada self-sufficiency (lengkap diri) atau independence (kemerdekaan), dan sesuatu itu dikatakan (bagai) "bangsa" (national) apabila ia dipakai oleh seluruh kaum atau keturunan, atau "rata" (general) atau "raya" (public).

Tg. Pengerusi mengulas cadangan itu penghabisannya persidangan bersetuju dengan syur Tg. Pengerusi menamakan persidangan itu dengan nama, "Persidangan-Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Semenanjung Tanah Melayu", dan jikalau persatuan-persatuan Melayu diluar Semenanjung itu hadir bolehlah ditambah nama-nama desa yang berkenaan di hujung nama itu.

Cadangan Singapura yang akhir, "mintakan persidangan tahun yang akan datang". Dengan sebulat suara persidangan tahun yang akan datang ditetapkan di Ipoh, Perak.

Tuan Putera Jumaat (Singapura) bercakap berkenaan dengan perkara wakil-wakil sayugialah mereka itu mendapat se-penuh-penuh kuasa daripada persatuan-persatuan masing-masing. Ia berharap tidaklah akan jadi pada persidangan yang akan datang seseorang wakil berkata yang ianya tiada berkuasa memberi perkataan yang putus: Ia hanya memberi fikirannya sendiri bukannya fikiran persatuannya.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (wakil Singapura juga) mengambil peluang bercakap peri wakil-wakil, kuasa-kuasa mereka, aturan-aturan persidangan dan akhir sekali kebebasan



percakapan. Ia berharap sekiranya pada persidangan yang akan datang pengerusinya seorang anak raja, janganlah digunakan bahasa dalam tatkala menghalangkan percakapan kepada pengerusi. Memadailah - kata, Encik Ismail itu lagi disebut pengerusi itu "Tuan Pengerusi" sahaja. Maksudnya Encik Ismail dengan percakapannya itu ialah didalam persidangan sahaja, diluar persidangan patutlah bercakap dengan anak-anak Raja mengikut bahasa dalam seperti biasanya.

Tg. Pengerusi bersetuju dengan percakapan Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz itu dan berharap pada persidangan yang akan datang dapat dilakukan aturan-aturan persidangan dengan sempurna.

Dengan cadangan Encik Daud b. Mohd. Shah (Singapura) aturan-aturan persidangan seperti dibawa ini dipersetujui oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara:

1. Pengerusi persidangan itu akan dipilih oleh wakil-wakil yang hadir.
2. Setiausaha persidangan itu ialah setiausaha persatuan Melayu bagi desa tempat diadakan persidangan itu.
3. Cadangan-cadangan hendaklah dihantarkan kepada setiausaha persidangan itu tiga bulan lebih dahulu daripada tarikh persidangan supaya dapat diperkelilingkan kepada tiap-tiap Persatuan Melayu.
4. Tiap-tiap cadangan yang dibawa oleh seseorang wakil tidaklah boleh disokong oleh wakil-wakil persatuan yang membawa cadangan itu juga, tetapi boleh mereka menambah atau menerangkan keterangan-keterangan rakan mereka.
5. Hendaklah diberitahu kepada setiausaha persidangan sekurang-kurangnya 15 hari lebih dahulu daripada hari persidangan berapa orang wakil-wakil bagi sesebuah persatuan yang akan hadir.
6. Tiap-tiap wakil boleh menghurai atau menerangkan pendapatnya hanya sekali sahaja di dalam suatu perkara yang dirundingkan dalam persidangan itu.
7. Peringatan-peringatan persidangan itu hendaklah diperkelilingkan oleh setiausaha persidangan kepada persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian.

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Dato Bentara (Sarawak) menyatakan terimakasih dan besar hatinya yang Persatuan Melayu Sarawak dapat hadir dalam persidangan itu.

Persidangan ditutup pada pukul satu petang dengan ucapan terimakasih kepada Tengku Pengerusi dan Setiausaha persidangan.

Lepas itu sekalian wakil-wakil beredar ke Cafe de Luxe, High Street, kerana jamuan makan tengah hari yang diadakan oleh Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura).

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Disebelah petang hari itu setengah daripada wakil-wakil itu melawat ke Johor Bharu dan mencontoh tempat-tempat yang indah disana, seperti Masjid Abu Bakar, tempat binatang-binatang hidup, Makam Mahmudiah dan Istana Persemahyaman baharu bagi Sultan Johor. Persekutuan Keharapan Belia Johor meraikan pelawat-pelawat ini sekeliannya di rumah persekutuan di Jalan Mildred, Johor Bahru dengan suatu jamuan teh yang diserikan oleh sepasukan bunyi-bunyian Melayu yang merdu. Ucapan-ucapan yang menyeru baik perasaan dan kod persaudaraan serta teguh persatuan di antara kaum bangsa Melayu dilafazkan oleh kedua-dua pihak.

Allah selamatkan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu!

DOKUMEN E

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 2072

JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION IN MALAYSIA

A study of the Japanese  
Military Administration of  
Malaya including the  
organization, policies and  
controls of the administration.

8 Jun 1944

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## Japanese Policies and Controls

Japanese policies and controls in Malaya have been particularly evident in the two spheres of life which are of greatest concern to the native population, economic and social. The two basic economic tasks confronting the Japanese in Malaya were and are: (1) to develop and export to Japan essential raw materials, and (2) to produce for and distribute within Malaya consumer goods and foodstuffs. The sociologic program for Malaya under the Japanese administration is also two-fold; (1) to stimulate and exploit native collaboration in Japanese programs, and (2) to expedite the spread of Japanese propaganda and culture throughout the country.

### 1. Economic Policies and Controls

Both of the economic tasks set forth above have been seriously handicapped by war conditions. Pre-war Malaya had a surplus of raw materials but had to import almost all of her food and consumer goods. The present war cut off the principal markets for Malaya's raw materials, created a shipping shortage which drastically reduced essential imports, and caused prices to rise. At the same time, the operations of the large scale rubber and tin industries were curtailed, thus depriving many labourers of their jobs. The price of both rubber and tin fell below the bare margin of profit and thus impoverished many laborers in these industries. The Japanese have adopted various measures in their effort to achieve self-sufficiency. The several Japanese policies and controls will be discussed below as they affect (a) Finance, (b) Business and Industry, (c) Trade and Transport, (d) Labor, and (e) Agriculture.

#### a. Finance

i. **Banking and Currency.** There have been three distinct phases of Japanese control of banking in Malaya. Throughout those three periods, Japan had taken more in exports from Malaya and in goods supplied to Japanese forces in the area, than Malaya has received in imports from Japan or other Japanese-occupied areas. Part of Malaya's exports to Japan have consisted of iron ore from mines owned since pre-war times by Japanese, and could therefore be classed as investment returns as also could the profit on any new factories installed by the Japanese. Most of Malaya's exports and supplies to Japanese troops, however, have been paid for by new currency issued under military authority.

During the occupation of Malaya from March 1942 to July 1942, control was characterized by the liquidation of enemy banks, the freezing of all deposits, and the establishment of branches of leading Japanese banks in order to extend Japanese financial power. Currency was issued directly by the military authorities.

From July 1942 to March 1943, financial control was characterized by establishment and expansion of branches of the Southern Regions Development Bank and of the new People's Bank, which makes smaller loans.

From April 1943 to the present, financial control has been characterized by the issue of notes by the Southern Regions Development Bank to replace military script and by an effort to absorb surplus capital in order to reduce speculation and price inflation.

To curb the inflation which threatened Malaya as a result of too much cash in circulation and too few goods to purchase, the Japanese initiated several schemes. A series of lotteries were held with tickets sold throughout the country at one dollar each. Various inducements such as prizes and attractive interests rates were offered in order to encourage savings accounts. At the same time regulations for Vital Commodities Control, Price Control, and Productive Goods Control have been issued as occasion demanded and have probably been adjusted to meet changing conditions. For most goods these regulations have been designed to lower prices in order to offset speculation and prevent inflation.

ii. **Taxes.** Practically no change has been made by the Japanese in the taxation system used by the British in Malaya except for the abolition of the customs duty which produced little revenue under the drastic reduction in imports. Existing sources of revenue are being tapped to meet budgetary needs. These include receipts from governments monopolies, business licenses, land leases from various states, death duties, etc.

b. **Business and Industry.** The Japanese have regulated business and industry in Malaya by a permit system, such as has been applied to most areas under their occupation. Permits from the Military Administration are necessary for a store, factory, or other business enterprise to reopen after Japanese occupation. Moreover, a permit has first to be secured in order to start operating any new enterprise, by raw materials, transport goods, and export or import supplies. The officials empowered to issue or withhold permits have always been Japanese. It is probable that great injustices have been done by them in return for personal favors, a part of the profits, or even a share in ownership; and Japanese and Japanese-speaking persons have undoubtedly been favored in the granting of business permits.

As economic conditions became worse because of the cumulative effects of war -- lack of shipping, shortages of consumer goods, and loss of normal export markets -- inflation set in and strict controls of many phases of business life were instituted in addition to the permit system. Prices were fixed for some 800 types of goods, including such necessities as, clothing, drugs, tires and tubes. Rationing and other restrictions on sales of most

consumer goods (rice, sugar, salt, flour, matches, soap, etc.) were started. In August 1943, a survey was taken of current stocks of all necessary goods. Shops were requested to report within ten days all commodities in their possession.

In September 1943 the Japanese said that a transformation had occurred and that Malaya was actually operating on a planned economy. On 8 September the following broadcast was recorded:

Reaching a turning point, Malaya definitely has entered into a controlled economy, centering around a series of economic control regulations including the Key Industrial Goods Control Act which plays an important role as the balance wheel of other regulations.... It is generally considered that shifting from a liberal economy to a planned economy will bolster greatly the economic reconstruction of Malaya.

This Key Industrial Goods Act was imposed by the Military Administration to control the supply of raw materials and other potential war goods. The Administrator of the Act was given power to prohibit or control the transfer in any way of industrial materials, to fix prices, to regulate the use of goods, and to requisition or dispose of plants, equipment, land, buildings, or other property connected with war industries.

The Military Administration appointed a Committee for the Disposal of Enemy Assets (March 1942), to take the necessary steps in managing and disposing of all property which formerly belonged to British, American and Dutch interests. Certain Japanese firms were designated to develop the main industries of Malaya. Other Japanese firms bought controlling interests in local companies. Companies under Japanese control were able to secure permits from the Military to buy raw materials and to export and import finished goods when non-Japanese firms were frequently refused permits to carry on business. Thus Japanese firms easily took over financial control, ownership of key mines and industries, and management of wholesale trade.

The south Manchuria Railroads research department sent thirty-seven members to Malaya to undertake a systematic investigation of that country and especially of the following problems: acquisition of national defense resources, industrialization, increase in production of foodstuffs, and the control of capital. The Mitsubishi, Teihoku, Osaka, and Taisho Marine and Fire Insurance Companies were designated by the Military Administration to start operations in November 1942. Mitsubishi was given exclusive control of Singapore's harbor facilities and shipyards. The Nippon Electric

Generation and Transmission Company was given a monopoly of power plants and power development. The Yokohama Rubber Manufacturing Company was named to supervise the Singapore Rubber Works and the Singapore Rubber Association, made up of Japanese capitalists, was given direct management of the whole rubber industry.

The expansion of Japanese economic control was easy because most of the property and businesses taken over by Japanese firms had belonged to British, American, and Dutch interests, and were so-called "enemy property", which has to be disposed of. The Chinese, too, had investments in mines, plantations, trading companies, etc., which were not insignificant. Chinese suspected of loyalty to the Chungking Government were ruthlessly deprived of their properties and in many cases, of their lives. Those with lucrative business of whom no suspicion of political disloyalty could be pinned, suffered gradual encroachments from Japanese interests. But the majority of the local inhabitants had been the producers, retail dealers, and suppliers, and they continued in these roles for the Japanese firms.

c. Trade and Transport. Both external and internal trade and transport in Malaya have come to a virtual standstill since the Japanese occupation. Even Japanese firms desirous of overseas trading with Malaya have been unable to secure adequate shipping space and proper permits from the military authorities. During the first year of occupation exports went only to Japan. During the last year, however, the Japanese claim that exports have gone as well to Java, Sumatra and Burma. Malaya had made trade agreements to send petroleum and rubber to China in exchange for silk, textiles and medicines; and to Thailand in exchange for rice and medicinal herbs, but there is no evidence that these arrangements have been carried out.

The Japanese authorities have imposed further restrictions on trade and travel, not only between Malaya and adjacent countries, but also between the several Malay states. After the fall of Singapore, 15 February 1942, all travel was forbidden, and when limited travel was eventually permitted no person was allowed to take more than S\$100 with him. The Japanese have consistently discouraged all civilian travel; and where it had been permitted special passes have been necessary, formerly granted by the military authorities but now by the police. Most of the space in the limited train service is reserved for Japanese military and civilian personnel. Moreover, train service has been curtailed and those trains still running make many more stops than formerly.

The Japanese control Malaya's trade by requiring permits for all types of transport and contracts. All harbors, docks and dock facilities are under the supervision of the Japanese armed forces and no coastwise shipping can be effected

without the consent of the military authorities. The same restrictions apply to shipping by rail.

d. Labor. The labor programs of the Japanese are the product of an anomalous situation in Malaya. Following the fall of Singapore, and as a natural result of the war, there was sudden and widespread unemployment in Malaya.

However, in spite of this, the Japanese found it necessary to form a Labor Service Corps throughout all Malaya 20 December 1943. From every 250 inhabitants between the ages of 15 and 45 of the various provinces, twenty are selected to serve in the Labor Corps. A leader is appointed for each unit of the Corps, under the direct control of the Auxilliary Police. All members are paid for their work and receive badges for identification. The Labor Service Corps in Penang numbers 23,000 strong and is made up of 460 groups consisting of fifty members each, under a section chief.

As a further step in their effort to round up sufficient labor the authorities of Shonan Special Municipality decided 1 January 1944 to register all the workers on Shonan island. They expected the workers to number about 150,000 in the various fields of industry, commerce, and agriculture. It was said that the purpose of the registration was to assure an appropriate distribution of workers.

Several reasons why these steps became necessary can be suggested. In the first place, it is quite likely that the natives of Malaya have not been anxious to work for the Japanese. This might be especially true of the professional and white collar workers who have apparently been unmoved by Japanese appeals. Furthermore, even if the average Chinese coolie in Malaya were willing to work for the Japanese in order to get food, his efforts might not be very effectual. It is highly probable that the Japanese had many defense projects of an urgent nature to complete. Hence the obvious method of acquiring sufficient labor immediately was a labor draft. As a matter of fact that Japanese went even further and imported labor from Java in spite of the acute food shortage afflicting Malaya. On the whole, therefore, the majority of native labor available in Malaya appears so uncooperative or inefficient that the Japanese have resorted to extreme measures in order to provide an essential labor force to take care of their military necessities.

e. Agriculture. The chief emphasis in the Japanese agricultural program for Malaya has undoubtedly been to increase the production of food crops in order to establish self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Japan, on taking over Malaya, was pressed for shipping facilities to maintain her widely dispersed outposts, yet Malaya, if it were to be fed adequately, must import nearly 70 percent of its rice and probably a higher percentage of its total food requirements. The only solution, and the one adopted by the Japanese, was



to make the country as nearly self-supporting as possible. On taking stock, the Japanese found that their supplies were very low. They therefore placed immediate and severe restrictions on the use of the remaining rice and instituted a three year program to achieve self-sufficiency. This program comprised the following main points: (1) further development of existing rice lands, aided by the introduction of Japanese agricultural experts and techniques, (2) introduction of new paddy strains, and (3) opening up new lands and releasing restricted land to non-Malays.

Existing paddy land has been further developed, according to the Japanese, by the adoption of improved methods of planting and manuring so that a substantial increase in yield is obtained. Agricultural experts are said to have arrived to supervise local rice cultivation and teach Japanese methods in agricultural schools now established throughout the country. As a result of these practices, the Japanese claim to have raised the paddy yield of the Krian area of Perak by 50 percent. The figure is questioned by the British authorities who know the area. They believe that such an increase is unlikely despite the ingenuity of the Japanese and the industry of the cultivators, because the Krian area was already one of the most highly developed in Malaya before the war.

A significant Japanese innovation has been the introduction of a new strain of paddy from Taiwan. This Taiwan paddy matures in about half the time required by the average Malay paddy and thus it is possible to get two crops a year instead of one, as formerly. Taiwan paddy, however, has never been grown so far south before and the British agricultural experts feel that some difficulties will accompany an attempt to introduce it in the climate of Malaya.

The obvious step, however, was to open up new lands not previously used as paddy fields. The Japanese claim to have constructed upland paddy terraces; to have converted former rubber estates and farm lands into paddy fields by cutting down the trees and building irrigation systems and even to have cleared wood lands for growing. Much labor was required to prepare and cultivate this new land and since Malaya were apparently either uninterested or insufficient in numbers, the Japanese made arrangement to settle other people on the new plots. Much of the land thus developed had been restricted under British administration by Federal Enactments for Malays since immigrant non-Malays were acquiring more and more of the Malays' land. The Japanese have ignored this legislation and established in many of the states farming colonies for groups of Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Eurasians and even Burmese. The majority of those participating in this new venture are Chinese who receive land allotments from the Japanese-sponsored Overseas Chinese Associations. Most of the colonies have been established in Johore, Negri Sembilan, Perak, Selangor, and the former Straits Settlement of Malacca

and Province Wellesley. The Japanese promised to provide schools, churches, houses and roads; to loan equipment and seed against payment after the harvest and to supply buffaloes at nominal prices for cultivating.

The Japanese have used both bribes and coercion to encourage the industry of their farmer proteges. They offered a prize to the person raising the most rice per acre and making the most fertilizer through the fermentation of grasses. Two controls of a more serious nature are calculated to guarantee all-out effort by the farmers. One is the drafting of a Labor Service Corps to secure sufficient manpower. The other is the appointment of Japanese "soldier-farmers" to direct the efforts of the natives.

## 2. Social Policies and Controls

Japanese control measures of a social kind have been designed chiefly to encourage cooperation from the native population and at the same time inculcate ideas concerning the superior culture of Japan. Japanese language, music, religion, and history have been stressed and Japan's heroic mission to "liberate" Asia from Anglo-American influence has been extolled. These programs have been carried out by (1) organizing native racial groups, (2) reorienting Malaya's educational system, (3) indoctrinating the natives with Shintoism, (4) employing all possible media for the dissemination of propaganda.

a. **Japanese Organized Groups.** The various associations and organizations discussed below indicate attempts on the part of the Japanese administration to keep native groups in line. There is ample evidence to prove that almost all of these groups are hostile, in varying degrees, to Japanese domination. The longer Japanese autocratic control continues the greater this hostility will become. Therefore, the Japanese have segregated the different groups and apparently hope by keeping close check on their activities and by extending severe regimentation to avoid any trouble which might arise if the native peoples were allowed to organize themselves.

The Indian Independence League (found in 1942) with its Army has been fostered by the Japanese as a means of organizing the Indians of Greater East Asia. In Malaya the League was the agency for recruiting the Indian Independence Army and the channel through which Japanese economic and social programs were directed to the resident Indians. For example, it took charge of settling Indian farmers in the newly developed agricultural colonies, raising funds for the war effort, and establishing Indian schools. The headquarters of the Indian Independence League which were formerly in Singapore were moved to Burma in January 1944 as a step in the avowed campaign to "liberate" India.

The Overseas Chinese Associations were organized before the war to keep emigrant Chinese in touch with things at home. The Japanese assumed control, however, and are using them to coordinate the activities of Chinese collaborationists and to integrate Chinese into the Japanese war program. Their organizations also serve as clearing agencies for the establishment of Chinese agricultural colonies and for the collection of funds for the year. In several instances the Associations have been directed by the Japanese authorities to nominate members for the so-called "advisory" councils or to provide personnel for the Neighborhood Association patrols.

A Malay Welfare Association was formed last December with the avowed aim of looking out for the interests of all Malays in Singapore. It was stated that all Malays residing in Shonan would automatically become members. About a month later it was announced that a "Badan Penerangan" or Enlightenment Section was formed to serve "as a medium through which advice and guidance in the most effective methods of cooperation with the authorities will be given." Prior to the Japanese invasion there existed a party made up entirely of Malays called the "Kastuan Malayu Muda" (Malayan Young Men's League). Its sympathies were thoroughly pro-Japanese and during the invasion many of its members served the Japanese forces as spies and guides. The leader of this party is believed to be Haji Yacob, an ex-teacher of the Sultan Idris College, Tanjong Malim.

The Malaya Southern Development National Service Association was established by the Japanese in December 1942. This association includes all Japanese residents of Malaya and Sumatra with the exception of soldiers and military employees. The aim of the association is said to lie "in the promotion of further friendship among the Japanese residents." A Young People's Department was inaugurated at the end of June 1943 to train leaders from among the younger Japanese. Both divisions serve as means of directing the efforts of the Japanese living in Malaya towards the prosecution of the war.

There are other special groups such as the Eurasians, Filipinos, Burmese, and even Annamese who, although they do not occur in great number and therefore are not dignified by their own associations, are nevertheless kept in close check by the Japanese through their respective community leaders. In all cases they too are segregated and treated as separate units by the Japanese military authorities.

b. Educational Policy. Immediately following the Japanese invasion, all Malayan schools were closed and most of the buildings were used as barracks for Japanese soldiers. Gradually the vernacular schools, but not the English ones, were opened, beginning with the primary schools. The teachers received special instruction in the Japanese

language, and it was reported that in the summer of 1943 many teachers were still being instructed during their vacations. Those who became proficient in the allotted time were retained and those who failed were probably replaced by specially trained substitutes. It is estimated that about half of the school period, especially for the first year or two, is confined to the study of Japanese. In addition, special Japanese language schools were founded for adults, and attendance became essential for many persons because of regulations restricting the use of non-Japanese languages for postal, telephone, telegraph, and other purposes. It was expected that by 1943 only Japanese newspapers would be published. These latter plans have not been successful, however, but the general education program seems to be making headway.

Courses in Japanese are apparently obligatory in technical, medical, marine and normal schools, except for students who can pass a language examination. Particularly promising students from Malaya are sent to Japan for further training and in most cases return home to work in the educational program.

To stimulate further language study, "Japanese Language Weeks" have been proclaimed in various cities. These occasions are characterized by contests in essay writing, public speaking, and debating, for which prizes are awarded. Another method of Japanese indoctrination is to flood the libraries with books on Japan and its language and culture.

### **Beramai-Ramai Masuk "Giyu-Gun"**

oleh:

**Dzulkifli Ownie**

Hidup manusia dalam arti yang sebenarnya. ialah berjuang. Tiap-tiap perjuangan yang sungguh-sungguh menuju perubahan yang baik, untuk menyelamatkan masyarakat dan menyantuni tanah air, mestilah didahului dengan menyerahkan tenaga yang sepenuh-penuh yang disertai dengan semangat berkorban matiamatian. Kita umat Melayu yang termasuk dalam lingkungan Asia Timur Raya, sudah menerima ni'amat kema'muran dan kebebasan semenjak Dai Nippon telah menghalau Inggeris - Amerika dari seluruh A.T.R. ini. Umat Melayu haruslah menunjukkan kerjasama dan memasukkan bahagian tenaganya dalam kekuatan perang raksasa tentera Diraja Nippon dalam peperangan Dai Toa ini.

Tiap-tiap Umat Asia mestilah menanggungjawab yang sama atas keselamatan dan kema'muran Asia Raya. Kita umat Melayu yang termasuk dalam lingkungan Asia Timur, mestilah menyerahkan tenaga yang sebesar-besarnya dalam mempertahankan keselamatan tanah air kita yang tercintai khususnya, dan Asia amnya. Kita harus berdiri tegak dengan semangat waja dan jiwa kesatria bersama tentera Dai Nippon, yang gagah perkasa.

Perjuangar yang kita hadapi sekarang, bukanlah suatu perjuangan yang boleh dicuainya. Dahulu pada waktu tentera Dai Nippon masuk ke tanah air kita, bangsa kita hanya tinggal menonton dan menengok dari jauh sahaja. Kita hanya menjadi orang yang ketiga, orang yang tidak campur serta, kita hanya pandai melarikan diri dan bersembunyi-sembunyi kerana memelihara diri dari bahaya peperangan. Kita menegok dengan ta'jub akan kegagahan tentera Nippon menghalau musuh kita Inggeris Amerika, sehingga terusir keluar batas tanah air kita. Di masa itu ada juga dari antara kita yang timbul semangatnya hendak ikut menumpaskan musuh, tetapi musuh itu sudah mematahkan segala kekuatan kita, melemahkan segala semangat keberanian kita. Mereka yang memegang kuasa, sebab itu dengan mudah mereka membunuh akan tiap-tiap semangat kita yang berbangkit hendak melawan mereka.

Zaman melarikan diri dan menonton itu, sudah habis, sudah tinggal jauh di belakang kita. Sekarang tidak ada lagi pemerintah Inggeris yang akan menyekat menghalangi langkah perjuangan kita. Sekarang pemerintah Dai Nippon mempunyai sifat yang sebaliknya dari demikian. Dia mengobarkan semangat perjuangan kita, mengapi-apikan semangat kesatria dan gagah berani yang kita pusakai turun temurun dari nenek

moyang kita purbakala. Pemerintah Nippon mengembalikan kita kepada arti hidup yang sebenarnya yang kita sebutkan di atas, ialah: Hidup untuk berjuang, berjuang untuk membela dan mempertahankan tanah air kita. Jika kita berani hidup untuk perjuangan tanah air, maka kita harus juga berani mati untuk menegakkan tanah air itu. Sebab itu, hanya satu semboyan yang mesti dikobar-kobarkan sekarang, ialah: Segala sesuatu kita korbakan, kita persembahkan dengan rela hati, walau nyawa kita sekalipun, biar hancur dan musnah, kerana membina keselamatan dan kema'muran tanah air kita khasnya, dan Asia Timur Raya amnya.

Pemerintah Nippon sudah membukakan pintu masuk tentera, dengan mendirikan "Tentera Pembela Tanah Air". Kebetulan pula berdirinya sewaktu Dai Nippon sedang berazam hendak menjadikan tahun peperangan yang ketiga "tahun kemenangan yang akhir". Sa'at berdirinya adalah pada sa'at yang bertuah sekali, sewaktu 1000 juta umat A.T.R. sudah mengumpulkan segenap tenaga perjuangannya untuk menghancurkan Inggeris-Amerika.

Tiap-tiap pemuda Melayu harus bersiap. Sa'atnya sudah tiba, panggilan tanah air sudah datang. Ucapan sakti "Tidak Melayu Hilang Di Dunia" sekaranglah masanya mesti dibuktikan. Bukanlah ucapan itu tinggal di atas kertas atau menjadi permainan bibir sahaja, tetapi mesti dibuktikan dengan perbuatan. Ucapan itu mesti kita tebusi dengan darah kita, dengan semangat kita, dan dengan perjangan kita yang mati-matian yang tidak mengenal takut dan lari. Pantang Melayu berbalik surut, tidak adat Melayu mendiamkan diri sewaktu musuh sudah menggertak dan mengancam akan masuk menyerbu.

Wahai pemuda-pemuda harapan bangsa! Marilah kita menyambung limpah kurnia dari kerajaan Dai Nippon ini dengan semangat yang bulat dan penuh kegagahan. Jika bangsa kita di Djawa rela menuliskan surat permohonannya meminta berdirinya "Tentera Sukarela" dengan mencungkil darah mereka sendiri, dan jika bangsa kita di Sumatera telah menerima dengan tempik sorak akan berdirinya "Lashkar Ra'yat", maka wahai pemuda-pemuda Melayu, marilah kita sambut limpah kurnia pemerintah di Malai ini dengan iqrar kita, dengan sumpah setia, dengan menyerahkan jiwa raga kita, darah dan nyawa kita.

Peluang yang sekali ini tidak akan terulang dua kali, kalau tidak kita pergunakan dengan sebaik-baiknya. Bangsa kesatria yang berdarah turunan gagah berani, mesti menyambut peluang menjadi "Giyu Gun" itu dengan muka yang berseri-seri. Dan sebaliknya, hanyalah bangsa yang pengecut menolak peluang keemasan untuk membela tanah air itu.

Pemuda-pemuda! Marilah beramai-ramai memasuki "Giyu-Gun". Barah darah kita, jiwa kita dan pengorbanan kita menjadi tima emas yang akan menghiasi lembaran sejarah tanah air kita. Hidup dan mati akan datang silih berganti. Pergunakanlah

hidup kita untuk berkorban, dan mati kita untuk kemuliaan. Sejarah kita yang lama sudah dilukis oleh pahlawan-pahlawan kita yang tetap tercanai namanya. Sekarang, bahagian kita lagi membuat lukisan baharu dengan darah dan jiwa kita!

Marilah beramai-ramai memasuki "Tentera Pembela Tanah Air".

Dokumen ini dipertik dari majalah Fajar Asia, Januari 1944 [Singapura].

DOKUMEN F

Kuala Lumpur  
3rd February, 1947

H.E. The Governor of the Malayan Union  
Kuala Lumpur.

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, have the honour to request that Your Excellency will grant us an interview at the earliest possible date with the object of our being afforded an opportunity of putting forward certain representations concerning the labour situation in the Malayan Union.

2. We approach Your Excellency not as employers seeking assistance from Government in the carrying on of our own undertakings and projects but as individuals who have resided in Malaya for a considerable number of years and who, having been for some time past gravely concerned about the trend of events, now find ourselves united in the apprehension that this country is in serious danger. We have expressly refrained from open discussion and from communication to the Press because we considered such a course to be inadvisable, and we have not invited any locally born citizen to join us - though we believe that there are many who share our views - as we fear that it might involve him in personal risk.

3. It was evident in the years preceding the war with Japan that times were changing in the East in general and in Malaya in particular. Government introduced Trade Union legislation but there was little opportunity to carry it into effect before the Japanese invaded this country. If the need for such legislation required to be demonstrated, the strikes in Malaya in the years 1940 and 1941 afforded ample justification for the introduction of measures to organize labour so that collective bargaining and settlement of labour disputes could readily be achieved. At the same time Government laid itself open to criticism in our opinion not unjustified - that it permitted strikes - known to be political in origin - to drag on under conditions of intimidation and actual violence.

4. It is not surprising that even this country, once so happy and contented, should be seriously affected by the surrounding unrest. We however, see no reason why it should be permitted to drift into a state of political and economic chaos without the most strenuous and energetic measures first being taken to avoid such a disaster.



5. We do not think it can be disputed that there is evidence of wide-spread industrial unrest among the labourers of Malaya and that the epidemic of strikes throughout the country, and the manner of their organization, are symptomatic of a condition of affairs so radically wrong as

6. The indisputable evidence before us is that the position as regards labour unrest in Malaya is becoming progressively worse and that the situation today is critical.

7. The main causes of this state of affairs appear to be:

- (a) Disruption following upon the Japanese occupation
- (b) Unrest in neighbouring countries
- (c) Shortage of rice
- (d) Shortage of labour
- (e) Direct political agitation
- (f) Lack of proper direction and control of the Trades union movement.

8. The first of these causes has been gradually adjusting itself and in regards the second, Malaya, so far, has suffered less from the growing pains of nascent democracy than have her neighbours. But for the four remaining causes little danger would have resulted to this country from the first two. It is with the last four that the Administration has now both effectively and promptly to deal if disastrous consequences to the country are to be avoided.

9. As regards the shortage of rice, we are aware that Government has made and is making strenuous endeavours in the face of a world shortage to secure further imports of rice and to increase local production. That these endeavours have not succeeded to date in providing for the population of Malaya adequate supplies of rice at reasonable prices is not - we are prepared to believe - to be attributed entirely to the Malayan Government.

10. We are, however, of the opinion that the shortage of rice is one of the main contributing factors to the present dangerous position in which Malaysia today finds herself. The case which we hear put forward on many sides may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The people of Malaya has an exceedingly bad time during the time of the Japanese occupation
- (b) They were led to believe that upon the entry of the British troops a prosperous time lay before them

- (c) So far as rice is concerned they are now getting what they consider a shabby deal
- (d) Other countries, including Japan, get a higher rice ration than they do, and they do not even get their allocation
- (e) They are content to let the other countries have the flour if they get a proper allocation of rice and in fact receive what is allocated.

11. It is widely felt that because in the past Malaya has been an orderly, peaceful country, the reaction of Authority has been to fail to press her legitimate claims as regards rice allocation and to pay undue attention to territories whose inhabitants hitherto have been more vocal and less accommodating.

12. Political agitators to whom we make further reference hereafter find a fruitful field among people who are hungry and who labour under a feeling of grievance against established authority.

13. We represent with all the force and earnestness of which we are capable that unless and until the situation in Malaya as regards the provision of rice in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices has been safeguarded, the efforts of labour agitators will have progressively effective results and the efforts of Government and well disposed persons to prevent disorganization of industry and eventual civil disorder will prove ineffectual.

14. The general shortage of labour resulted in the early stages in cut-throat competition with the results now being experienced; the ever-increasing demands by labourers are being met on all sides and beyond all reason by the more short sighted employers. We consider that there must be co-operation between all employers, including Government if the alarming progress of inflation is to be checked. In this connection again we refer to the shortage of rice and we wish to stress that our view that wages must be stabilized and limited is based solely upon economic considerations.

15. We now invite your consideration of the undoubted existence of direct political agitation. At the outset we wish to make it clear that we have for years realized the value in industry of Trades Unions provided they are used for the benefit of employees and are not allowed to become the tools of political agitators and subversive elements. Approaching the problem upon different lines, we are all convinced of the value of a system which will educate the employer, the employed and the Government servant to an understanding of the principles of collective bargaining. At the present time it is more than evident that the labourer in this country is receiving his Trade Union education at the

hands of paid political agitators and that the Trades Unions are being used for political ends and are becoming the tools of subversive elements.

16. Nothing we think could be more disastrous. These agitators are well organized; in many cases they are not natives of Malaya, and in few cases have they a genuine connection with the Trade Union they control. They care little or nothing for the worker or his welfare.

17. Trade Unions in Malaya require to be supervised to a considerably greater degree than at present and if even more serious troubles are to be avoided steps must be taken immediately to ensure that Trades Unions are limited to legitimate trade union activities and that their funds are properly accounted for and legitimately expended and do not find their way to support organizations whose activities militate against the well being of the country.

18. It is our firm belief that if these known paid political agitators are allowed unchecked to pursue their subversive programme we shall have before long disturbance which will set back the rehabilitation of Malaya for months, if not years, and what is even worse, we shall have permitted a traditionally diligent and rational type of labour to be corrupted beyond all hope of remedy.

19. We fully understand the reluctance of Government to make sure of the law as regards banishment but we remember the salutary effect of direct action in Singapore in 1941 and again on the 15th February 1946 and in Selangor in the year 1941. We believe the present situation to be more serious and the dangers more wide-spread than ever before.

20. It is for these reasons that we ask Your Excellency to afford us at the earliest possible date an opportunity of discussing with you the questions of immediate action, of future measures and of educational policy.

We have the honour to be  
Your Excellency's obedient servants,

A. Arbuthnot  
A.V. Beith  
W.G.C. Blunn  
H.A. Campbell  
G.D.A. Fletcher  
F. De Langlade  
J.W. Lesak  
S.B. Palmer  
E.D. Shearn  
G.A. Shelton-Agar  
A.W. Wallich